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ABSTRACT

For over a century, Texas public schools have attempted to acculturate Mexican-American children by denigrating Mexican-American culture, language, and history. These efforts have largely failed, as Mexican-Americans in Texas have not lost their cultural heritage and assimilated into the larger society. However, this ethnic group has been shorn of its historical heritage and pride by the distorted history presented in school, a fact that continues to doom many Mexican-American children to school failure. Chapter I of this dissertation examines the history of the American public school as an acculturating agency, discusses a pluralistic approach to education, and reviews public policy and attitudes toward immigrants since 1900. Chapter II discusses the "lost past" of Mexican-Americans, and compares Mexican and Anglo accounts of the Texas revolution, the Alamo, and Texan independence. Chapter III presents evidence of the institutional invisibility of Mexican-Americans, and describes the treatment of Mexican-Americans after Texan independence, the exploits of Mexican-American militant Juan Cortinas--a folk hero of the period, and the dual approach to schooling begun at this time. Chapter IV examines Mexican-American participation in the Civil War and parochial education of Mexican-American children from 1850 to 1870. Chapter V discusses the development of free public education by the 1880s, and de facto segregation of Mexican-Americans due to demographic patterns of spatial separation. This dissertation contains 208 references. (SV)

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BROWN OUT

AN APPRAISAL OF THE ROLE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL AS AN ACCULTURATING AGENCY OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN TEXAS, 1850-1968

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PREFACE

This study for Mexican Americans was begun in the heat of the battles of the 1960's when it seemed truly possible that parity, liberty and justice could be achieved for all. At that time, formal education was the major gateway to the mainstream. Many groups were not making it through school and consequently into the society.

The hearings on the Bilingual Education Act in 1967 focused attention on Mexican Americans in Texas. It was not the first time that attention had been focused on the group, nor was it to be the last time. The intensity surrounding the civil rights' struggle of minority groups added to the facts presented at the hearings seemed to indicate a calculated crippling of the potential of the young people of Mexican heritage in Texas.

The facts aired at the hearing revealed a substantial educational gap between the Mexican American and the Anglos, and further disclosed an expectation of less than ten years of schooling for the young people in the Mexican American group, which made up 16 per cent of the Texas population at that time.

The questions were: Why was there this high drop-out rate for this group? Was there something wrong with Mexican American students? Was there something wrong with the schooling they were getting? What was wrong?

The answers of educators ranged around language and culture. The Mexican Americans were of a different culture group and spoke a different language. There was no support for these language and cultural differences in the schools, as they were structured.

The American public schools were conceived as a deliberate instrument to erase "different" and "alien" traits in immigrants; to "make Americans" out of the children of foreign peoples.

In anthropological terms, the public schools functioned as an agency of acculturation. The aim of the acculturation processing was eventual assimilation. (The terms acculturation and assimilation represent shades on a spectrum of a single process by means of which isolated traditions or considerable blocs of custom are passed on by one human group to another.)

Chapter I addresses itself to this role of the public school as an acculturating agency, and to a newly possible alternate conception--pluralism--in which the

cultures of different groups are found and fostered by the schools.

Theoretically, acculturation is a two-way process, a give and take between two culture groups. However, the manner in which the school perpetuates Anglo values, perceptions, language and history in the Southwest, makes the process a single impress upon Mexican American. By accepting the Anglo vision of himself and the society at large, Mexican Americans lose their values, their history, their language and their pride in a Mexican heritage.

This "lost past" is elucidated briefly in Chapter II as are two different accounts, Mexicans and Texans, of the Texas revolt and eventual independence. Mexican perception of the revolution, which would enable Mexican American students to relate with "honor" to their heritage, is not presented in the Texas schools.

More than a "past" has been lost. After the Anglos engineered their successful revolution and took over the land and the dominant structures of government from the Mexicans, the two groups separated. Subsequently the recorded historical evidence was limited to the Anglos. Chapter III presents evidence of the institutional invisibility of the Mexican Americans.

The very presence of Mexicans in the land that was once theirs can not be fathomed from the statistics, from establishment histories or from the census data. Their records are in invisible ink and it is necessary to penetrate beneath the official surface to find them. In addition to pointing to what has been left out, this study puts in the found fragments. Thus Chapter III presents some ethnic history: The exploits of a Mexican American militant, Juan Nepomuceno Cortinas, who reacted to the deprivation of the Mexican Americans during this period, and whose adventures did not lack in romance, pathos and success, is presented as a possible model for Mexican American school youth.

The evidence of a dual approach to the schooling of Anglos and Mexican Americans in Texas, which transcends this period, can also be found in Chapter III. This chapter which covers the Pre-Civil War period demonstrates the mechanisms of fear as the establishment uses the least powerful minority as a scapegoat and a nativist target.

The meaning of "excluded cultural minority" becomes clear when the annals of recorded evidence of the Civil War period are studied carefully. The Mexican Americans had been eliminated from whatever evidence had been transmitted as "history." Although it is clear that the Mexican American

group was at least the second largest free minority in Texas.

Chapter IV which ranges beyond the stated purpose of this study, starts with an alternate pluralistic survey of the Civil War, in which the Mexican Americans who participated, are described. This dissertation becomes a vehicle for including this group in the history of the period.

If the word participation characterizes their military roles during the Civil War period, the word separation characterizes the Mexican Americans educational position. The separation of Mexican American children from the other Texas children in school during this period 1850 through 1870 seems so total as to make the history of the common school in Texas not related at all to these children.

It is the history of the Catholic schools in the area that do relate: The remainder of Chapter IV describes the parochial schools that enrolled a substantial number of Mexican American students. It is significant to note that enrollment in private and parochial school was part of a substantial tradition in Texas at this time.

The ethnic demographic data in the last chapter synthesizes the material. It becomes clear that the

Mexican American group is a permanent minority group in Texas. A demographic profile reveals that they have resided in substantially the same spaces at least since 1870 and further, that these spaces are separated from the Anglo majority. The organized public school system that developed in post-Reconstruction Texas was a segregated school system. That system functioned as an agency of assimilation: The Anglos, who set the policy, attempted to inculcate their values, ideals, beliefs, language and history upon the Mexican Americans.

In brief: In the period under study the Anglos dominated schooling in Texas. During colonization, the Anglos attempted to educate their children, the Mexicans in the colonies were largely ignored. As an independent Republic there was some interest in public schooling; this was not developed and never included Mexican Americans. Missionaries, Catholic nuns and brothers undertook the education of the Mexican American child from about the 1850's. Those few children in parochial schools received an integrated education. During the Civil War these parochial schools survived although the public schools did not.

After the Civil War and during Reconstruction the Radicals in Texas attempted a compulsory public school

system that included all children. This was destroyed by Texans who refused to pay taxes to maintain the schools. By the 1880's this system was revived. It was at that point that the schools began to function as an agency of assimilation. The schools continued to act as an acculturating agency of Mexican Americans until about 1967 when the hearings on the Bilingual Education Act were held.

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CHAPTER I

ONE NATION INDIVISIBLE

Although the Statue of Liberty's lighted torch in the harbor of New York still beckoning the dispossessed--symbolizes the United States' traditional welcome of immigrants--rejected, starved or threatened in their native lands; once having landed or crossed closer borders, the stranger and his children have faced not only the expected physical and economic struggles for survival, but psychological and social pressures to give up the "alien, foreign self" and become another, a "new man" and American.

One nation indivisible, clarioned Theodore Roosevelt:

> It is our duty from the standpoint of self-defense to secure the complete Americanization of our people,--to make of the many peoples of this country, a united nation, one in speech and feeling, . . .[1]

The promise implicit in this exchange has been that acceptance and perhaps even success would follow the transformation from "immigrant" to American. Or, for those

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[1]Theodore Roosevelt, Address delivered before the Knights of Columbus, Carnegie Hall, New York, Oct. 12, 1915. New York Times, Oct. 13, 1915, p. 1.

who could not, or would not be assimilated, exclusion from the mainstream of American life, was perhaps the just punishment.

This insistence on assimilation as the price for acceptance has been challenged ideationally only twice in American history, now, 1960-1977, and in 1915:

In 1915 "cultural pluralism"[2] surfaced briefly as a countermove to the near hysteria created by Americanization drives that emerged during the First World War. Adherents, envisioning an America revitalized by the cultures of many peoples, demanded that each incoming group be permitted to preserve its aesthetic and intellectual forms, that each individual preserve that essence of self that was cultural.

Between 1915 and 1960 there seemed to have been little choice, either to become docile and available as raw material "to be bleached", i.e. assimilated, or "excreted, isolated, destroyed, as an offense, an

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[2]A state or condition of society in which members of diverse ethnic, racial and religious or social groups maintain an autonomous participation in and development of their traditional culture or special interest within the confines of a common civilization. "Pluralism" Webster's Third New International Dictionary, G. C. Merriam Company, Springfield, Mass., Vol. II.

unworthiness, a foe of the good, the true and the beautiful."[3]

What this pressure has meant, individually to immigrants has not been thoroughly researched, as yet, and has indeed tended to be evaded or ignored. Part of the evasion was the lack of feedback from the immigrants themselves. Some believed in the "Melting Pot Myth"[4] others, poorly organized, afraid, ignored or separated from the mainstream, never made their voices heard.

The Blacks, not immigrants, but coerced by similar promises and pressures, began in the 1960's a deliberate rejection[5] of the premise that only the WASP model was the beautiful, the acceptable, the good. They posed questions not only about the possibility of assimilation but the desireability of assimilation; other ethnic groups, the Puerto Rican, the Mexican American and the Italian American followed suit. There began to be the

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[3]Horace Kallen, Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956), p. 26.

[4]Israel Zangwell, The Melting Pot (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915), ". . . America is God's Crucible, the great melting-pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming!", p. 184.

[5]Telesis, directed cultural change to accept "Black is Beautiful!"

choice of re-identification as an ethnic as an alternative to the American culture model.

Some of these groups reject the cultural domination of the Anglo-Saxon, seek deliberate selection of ethnic culture traits to be embodied in the mainstream. All decry the loss of primary language. Radicalized groups see racism and oppression embodied in the Wasp power structure.[6]

This new pluralism is significant because it may be a binding agent for the upper and lower classes of the ethnic communities, and because, for the most part it has been initiated by members of these ethnic communities who themselves might have the choice of immersion into the mainstream.

Although not all members of self-identified ethnic groups reject the promises and goals of Americanization: One nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all. The time is one of awareness of differences, cultural and racial.

This re-affirmation of identity as Puerto Rican,

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[6]A brief summary of this position can be found in Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976), pp. 65, 66.

Mexican American, Italian American, etc. poses a problem for the American school.

> The common school, started in Massachusetts in the early 19th century, was apparently conceived as a deliberate instrument to reduce cultural and religious differences. . . The schools have attempted to file down or erase distinctive cultural traits, denying that important cultural diversity ever existed; the procedures of the school reflect a mandate to persuade youth that all groups share a common language, common political and economic institutions and common standards of right and wrong behavior.[7]

But the United States is a land of immigration. More than 44 million immigrants came into this country legally, between 1820 and 1969. The texture and tone of the United States has been made by immigrants. (See Table 1)

The United States is a nation in which minorities--or ethnic groups sharing common experience and distinctive models, culture and languages comprise a significant proportion of the social structure. Contraposed to the myth of commonality is the reality of minority life.

Defined, a minority is a group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics,

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[7]Fred M. Newman and Donald W. Oliver, "Education and Community," Harvard Education Review, XXXVII, I (Winter, 1967), 79.

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TABLE 1

IMMIGRANTS, BY COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: 1820 TO 1969

[For years ending June 30. Data prior to 1906 refer to country from which aliens came. Because of boundary changes and changes in list of countries separately reported, data for certain countries not comparable throughout. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1957*, series C 88-114]

COUNTRY	1820-1969; 150-year total		1961-1969, total	1961-1969		1967	1968	1969
	Number	Percent		Number	Percent			
All countries	44,789,312	100.0	2,815,479	2,948,351	100.0	361,972	454,448	358,579
Europe	35,803,136	79.9	1,329,159	1,022,357	34.7	129,266	129,317	114,606
Austria [1]	4,296,050	9.6	67,106	15,352	0.5	1,484	2,022	3,762
Hungary			36,637	4,851	0.2	582	534	617
Belgium	197,497	0.4	15,575	8,528	0.3	862	754	582
Czechoslovakia	131,706	0.3	918	2,518	0.1	297	398	532
Denmark	360,039	0.8	10,984	8,637	0.3	991	1,126	880
Finland	30,841	0.1	4,925	3,820	0.1	449	556	247
France	728,454	1.6	51,121	41,828	1.4	4,904	4,815	3,203
Germany [1]	6,996,465	15.4	477,765	180,171	6.1	18,595	16,890	10,380
Great Britain [2]	4,777,727	10.7	195,498	195,537	6.6	23,778	26,752	15,496
Greece	557,713	1.2	47,608	70,824	2.4	14,104	12,185	16,634
Ireland [3]	4,712,660	10.5	57,332	36,273	1.2	1,991	2,268	1,567
Italy	5,149,119	11.5	185,491	186,744	6.3	28,487	25,842	27,033
Netherlands	350,158	0.8	52,277	29,262	1.0	1,756	2,051	1,295
Norway	852,891	1.9	22,935	15,001	0.5	1,282	1,106	602
Poland [4]	483,817	1.1	9,985	51,506	1.7	4,356	3,676	2,115
Portugal	348,856	0.8	19,389	63,801	2.2	13,400	11,827	15,785
Spain	220,311	0.5	7,894	39,306	1.3	4,562	7,904	8,929
Sweden	1,266,127	2.8	21,697	10,317	0.6	1,822	1,748	789
Switzerland	341,143	0.8	17,675	17,241	0.6	2,279	2,187	859
Turkey (Europe and Asia)	374,356	0.8	3,510	8,803	0.3	1,168	931	1,410
U.S.S.R. (Europe and Asia) [5]	3,346,455	7.5	844	1,976	0.1	209	292	354
Yugoslavia	83,140	0.2	8,225	16,512	0.6	2,753	2,705	4,074
Other Europe	291,811	0.6	10,830	8,031	0.3	945	898	999
Asia	1,222,461	2.7	149,815	327,908	11.1	57,983	55,973	72,403
China [6]	436,876	1.0	9,657	28,337	1.0	7,114	4,851	5,284
Hong Kong	[7] 80,831	0.2	15,544	65,287	2.2	15,737	9,838	14,140
India	32,001	0.1	1,973	19,304	0.6	4,129	4,165	5,203
Japan	360,653	0.8	46,250	35,257	1.2	4,125	3,810	4,093
Korea	[8] 31,869	0.1	6,231	25,634	0.9	3,845	3,592	5,854
Philippines	[9] 87,176	0.2	19,307	67,809	2.3	10,336	10,966	20,263
Other Asia	193,055	0.4	50,853	87,126	2.9	11,793	13,631	17,582
America	7,367,862	16.3	996,944	1,851,618	62.7	170,238	262,736	161,015
Argentina	[7] 65,218	0.1	19,486	45,732	1.5	3,013	3,926	4,422
Brazil	[7] 40,337	0.1	13,783	26,554	0.9	2,544	3,503	2,428
Canada	3,941,858	8.8	377,952	380,400	13.1	34,764	41,716	29,303
Colombia	[7] 83,334	0.2	18,048	65,280	2.2	4,679	6,929	7,658
Cuba	[9] 272,852	0.6	78,948	193,904	6.6	30,869	95,721	10,177
Dominican Republic	[9] 92,522	0.2	9,897	82,925	2.8	11,560	9,208	10,445
Ecuador	[7] 42,378	0.1	9,841	32,537	1.1	2,709	3,631	5,030
Haiti	[9] 32,656	0.1	4,412	28,214	0.9	3,317	6,429	5,903
Honduras	[7] 20,441	0.1	6,047	14,394	0.5	1,557	1,736	1,206
Mexico	1,547,771	3.4	299,811	499,116	13.9	43,034	44,710	45,748
West Indies	494,229	1.1	27,804	108,556	3.7	16,241	29,376	26,665
Other America	673,962	1.5	128,895	160,966	5.5	15,944	15,860	15,000
Africa	69,374	0.2	14,092	21,855	0.7	2,577	3,220	4,460
Australia and New Zealand	96,708	0.2	11,506	16,865	0.6	2,128	2,374	2,278
Pacific Islands	[10] 19,560	0.1	1,470	1,538	0.1	149	139	225
All other countries	209,881	0.6	12,493	3,180	0.1	531	659	560

[1] 1938-1945, Austria included with Germany; 1848-1919, Poland included with Austria-Hungary, Germany, and U.S.S.R. [2] Beginning 1952, includes data for United Kingdom not specified, formerly included with "Other Europe." [3] Comprises Eire and Northern Ireland. [4] Beginning 1957, includes Taiwan.
[5] Prior to 1951, included with "Other Asia." [6] Prior to 1951, Philippines included with "Pacific Islands."
[7] Prior to 1951, included with "Other America." [8] Prior to 1951, included with "West Indies."

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1970 (91st edition) Washington, D. C., 1970, p. 93.

are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment.[8] The existence of a minority in the society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group enjoying higher social status and greater privileges.[9]

Minorities are debarred from certain economic, social and political opportunities. In a chain of cause and effect these debarrments function to limit the individual minority member. (Who is also held in lower esteem and may be the object of contempt, hatred, ridicule and violence.)[10] Minorities may be socially and spatially segregated. Their property rights may be restricted; they may not enjoy the equal protection of the laws; they may be deprived of the right of suffrage and may be excluded from public office.[11] Frequently as a protective device to perceived dominant attitudes, minorities tend to develop a set of attitudes, forms of behavior and other characteristics which tend further to set them apart.[12] Membership in a minority is involuntary. A minority might be a native born group--the indigenous Indians in

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[8]Louis Wirth, On Cities and Social Life (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Phoenix Books, 1964), p. 245.

[9]Ibid. [10]Ibid. [11]Ibid., p. 246.

[12]Ibid.

the United States--or might, statistically, be a majority--the Blacks in the south.[13]

There had been little evidence of these objective realities or this subjective human situation in institutional procedures and norms previous to 1960. In that period the Blacks became articulate and militant and demanded, among other grievances, equal access to political and educational institutions.

A thrust into the mainstream with racial identity intact was the first opening breach in the mono-cultural, mono-lingual barriers surrounding the American school system. Other culture groups moved into the opening and on-going changes in many areas of the country indicate growing bilingual and bicultural education.

As was to be expected, this change in the American education system has met with opposition. The socializing role of the school had embedded in it culture "norms", and bilingual, bicultural education exposes this hidden structure.[14] In addition, the opponents of bilingual, bicultural education say that the change

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[13]Ibid., p. 247.

[14]The impact of these norms on the Mexican American child will be explicated in this study.

> . . . nurtures ethnic separatism and threatens to balkanize a nation, that past immigrant groups received no such special consideration, and that the method worsens the academic retardation it is meant to cure, slowing entry into the American mainstream.[15]

From the vantage point of this controversy in the 1970's it is possible to explore both the past assumptions of the school's acculturative role and to project some specific alternatives.

The American public school system (between 1850 and 1960) functioned on a base of a fairly explicit set of values, an implicit set of expectations of "right and wrong behaviors" and taught a pre-set American school history that extolled the heroics of the dominant group in the society. The transmitted information, the transmitted values and the transmitted behaviors were mono-historical, mono-lingual and mono-cultural.

The recorded information was about the primary settlers from England, the language of recording was English and the selected values, behaviors, goals and expectations were basically white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and middle class. The schools erased and blunted behavior

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[15]David Vidal, "Bilingual Instruction Is Thriving, but Criticized," The New York Times, Review of the Week, Jan. 30, 1977, p. 9.

that was not perceived as being contained in this model.

The "old" immigrants--not of this model--were denigrated by professional educators:

> These southern and eastern Europeans are. . . . Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conception of law, order, and government . . . and the problems of proper housing and living, moral and sanitary conditions, honest and decent government, and proper education have everywhere been made more difficult by their presence.[16]

And the duty of the schools became one of

> . . . giving to such incoming peoples, and their children, some conception of the meaning and method and purpose of the national life of the people they have come among.[17]

An educator from Wales reporting on American schools noted:

> . . . The actual emigrants may mingle regret for their old home with love for the new; but thanks to the schools, the children are thoroughly American in sentiment.
>
> Patriotism is carefully fostered . . . their object is not merely cultivating the mind, but preparing for the duties of a citizen and instilling

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[16]Ellwood P. Cubberley, Changing Conceptions of Education (Boston, New York and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), p. 15.

[17]Ellwood P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Boston: Houghton Millfin Company, The Riverside Press, 1920), p. 739.

> pride in the republic. The aid of the emotions is sought as well as of the intellect.[18]

One educator looked upon the influx of foreign immigrants as a new clientele:

> An additional cause of the educational revival lies in the vast immigration . . . Some have come from English-speaking lands, bearing our Anglo-Saxon heritage. Others have come bearing this heritage, though not speaking the English tongue. Many have come also from the Romance and Slavic peoples, aliens in speech or in atmosphere. . . . for the transmutation of these great numbers of foreigners into worthy American citizenship, education is the chief force.[19]

This new clientele needed English: "The first step in any effective Americanization of our people of foreign birth is the teaching of the English language . . ."[20]

The broadening concept of "Americanization" necessitated special teacher-training courses:

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[18]Salmon, David, Some Impressions of American Education (Swansea: E. J. Griffiths, 11 High Street, 1899), p. 30.

[19]Charles Franklin Thwing, A History of Education in the United States Since the Civil War (Boston, New York and Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, 1910), pp. 8, 9.

[20]U. S. Bureau of Education, Training Teachers for Americanization, by John J. Mahoney. Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 12 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1920), Preface.

> The Americanization leader and the Americanization teacher must know something more than how to teach one subject or another to immigrants. She must know what Americanization really means, in its larger aspects. She must know America and what America stands for and must be able to interpret America to the immigrant in language that he will understand. She must know, too, what citizenship really means--not that citizenship which is measured in terms of the immigrants knowledge of naturalization requirements, but that citizenship which is the expression of the things of the American spirit that the good citizen believes in, swears by and loves. . . .[21]

When the surge of immigration started in the 1900's both Europeans and Americans believed that acculturation was a simple process. The new setting would alter the nature of the immigrant and bring him into conformity with the patterns of culture of the adopted country.

No thought was given to primary socialization nor was emphasis placed on motivation. For acculturation to take place, new responses, new cues and new codes all had to be integrated to produce changes in behavior. Obviously the immigrant had to be motivated or rewarded to make such changes--if he saw the need to change at all.

Many did not. The immigrants, for the most part were separated from the mainstream by poverty and illiteracy. Left to themselves, they tended to settle-in block by block,

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[21] Ibid., p. 10.

apartment house by apartment house, next to relatives, and neighbors from their old village. They worshipped in churches they knew, spoke their mother tongue and dealt suspiciously, if at all, with outsiders. Thus spatially, linguistically and psychologically separated from others, these groups were visibly different. Different implied a threat . . . evoked at least uneasiness which may amount to anxiety, to fear, to rage . . .[22] The process as it advanced slowly produced the formation of a new hyphenated society, with fragments from both the mother culture and the new American culture.[23] The living patterns that were established were based in part on earlier socialization, in part on sheer survival in the ethnic slum.

Change conceivably could come about by increasing contact between the native American and the newer inhabitants, by sharing residences, jobs, churches, by contact learning, i.e., by acculturation. But as much as the immigrant sought comfort in old ways, the native American sought to avoid and separate himself from life

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[22]Kallen, Cultural Pluralism, p. 26.

[23]William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1920) Vol. V., pp. viii, ix, x.

patterns which he found distasteful. "The experience of life in the United States had not broken down the separateness of the elements mixed into it; each seemed to retain its own identity."[24]

The immigrant remained unmelted.

Frightened, feeling that only assimilated individuals would ensure a traditional American way of life, be loyal to the United States in time of war and be bound by American conception of democracy and freedom, educators, social workers, the intelligentsia, industrialists and national leaders threw themselves with frenetic energy into efforts to Americanize the stranger. The problem then seemed to be to:

> . . . break up these groups or settlements, to assimilate and to amalgamate these people as part of our American race, and to implant in their children, so far as can be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order and popular government . . .[25]

Ventilating the hostility of the educated elite, a New York Times' editorial column on October 14, 1915 summed up, cleverly:

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[24]Handlin, The Uprooted, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1951), p. 270.

[25]Cubberley, Changing Conceptions, p. 15.

> The hyphen, . . . is a symbol that hides but thinly . . . an ominous, a sinister significance. The mathematicians . . . see it as the minus sign--the authorization to subtract, the command to diminish. . . somebody lessened by or without a something--Americanism, to wit.
> . . . One either is or isn't an American, first last, and all the time, and, if one is, he uses no hyphen and needs none to tell his filiation.[26]

The Americanization movement was characterized by an onslaught against the immigrant's culture. There were demands that he divest himself at once of the culture of his homeland, that he cease to speak its langauge, that he regard with distrust his familiar and psychologically satisfying ethnic institutions and organizations.[27]

After the erasure, the schools would be one of the instruments of implantation of the new culture--if not for the adults, at least for their children. And the public schools of this country accepted the mandate of

> . . . assimilating a diverse, "worthless and dangerous" people and making of them good Americans . . . instilling in them a love of the new homeland and "an adequate knowledge of American institutions and American government," teaching the English language is held essential.[28]

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[26]"Topics of the Times," New York Times, Oct. 14, 1915, p. 10.

[27]Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 136.

[28]Bessie Louise Pierce, Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 38.

The gap between immigrant and American increased at the same time the fear of divisiveness in a nation caught in war--World War I--intensified. President Wilson, capitalizing on these fears, used the Americanization issue as campaign strategy when he spoke before 15,000 persons in Philadelphia's Convention Hall.

> You cannot dedicate yourself to America unless you become in very respect and with every purpose of your will thorough Americans. You cannot become thorough Americans if you think of yourselv s in groups . . . America does not consist of groups . . .[29]

Praise came from Cardinal O'Connell in Boston and School Superintendent Jacobs of Philadelphia. Before the week was out a New York Times' news story indicated that this speech was to be used as a model of the English language in the public schools of the city along with Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Washington's Farewell Address.[30]

Five months later, Wilson spoke again, serving notice on all men in politics that they must declare whether they were for America first, or not.[31] The

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[29]Woodrow Wilson, Address at Convention Hall, Philadelphia, May 10, 1915, issued by Americanization Department, Veterans of Foreign Wars, pp. 1-17.

[30]New York Times, May 11, 12, 17, 23, 25, 1915.

[31]Ibid., October 12, 1915.

Times noted:

> . . . The "hyphenates" obtuse as they are, must have acquired at least a suspicion that they have ceased to be loved and respected by all . . . even their blunted sensibilities will feel the frigidity of that "atmospheric effect of opinion."[32]

The climate of opinion in education was as frigid. Educators debated whether Americanization should be a matter of compulsion or persuasion. Should the force of law be used to require conformance to custom, the renunciation of all other allegiances and the learning of English? Or should persuasion be the method?

Everything was used: Day school for immigrants, factory classes, community programs, afternoon classes for immigrant women.[33] The YW's and the schools attempted persuasion. Americanism was promulgated, not by a new curriculum, but by permeating all subjects in the curriculum with a spirit of Americanism.[34] History, civics, literature and music were to be taught so as to emphasize and to arouse enthusiasm for the "higher values of human devotion, aspiration, and sacrifice." Educational

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[32]Ibid., October 14, 1915, p. 10.

[33]Mahoney, Training Teachers, p. 8.

[34]Frank V. Thompson, The Schooling of the Immigrant (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, Publishers 1920), pp. 11, 12.

plans set about capitalizing deliberately on the need for Americanism and a higher ideal of citizenship. Love of country, instead of being the background of school effort, had been made the dominant, central theme.[35]

Legislative measures were designed to promote a more "vigorous and intelligent sense of civic responsibility, a closer identification of the individual with American interests and aims."[36]

The movement to force immigrants to learn English and be conversant with civics and good citizenship became embodied in state laws and by 1923 statues of this nature were enacted by Arkansas, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Texas, Delaware, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, California, New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Iowa, Kansas, Washington, Maine, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Colorado, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, Virginia, and Idaho.[37]

The textbooks put into the hands of the children of immigrants depicted their parents as revolutionary and radical, a danger to the American political system; characterized them as criminals, illiterates and dependents;

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[35] Ibid., p. 121. [36] Ibid., p. 122.

[37] Ibid., pp. 230, 231.

charged them with producing slum districts, sweat shops and unemployment.[38]

While educators sought to use the public schools as an assimilative agency, the Immigration Restriction League and others worked on a campaign to waken the general public to the menace of unchecked immigration. Immigration restriction was achieved in a series of temporary and emergency acts beginning in 1921 and culminating in the action on May 26, 1924 by the 68th Congress.[39]

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[38] Ibid., p. 152.

[39] Immigration Act of 1924 Statutes at Large, H. R. 7995, Public No. 139, May 26, 1924. I Stat. 153 (1927). "Sec. II (a) The Annual quota of any nationality shall be 2 per centum of the number of foreign-born individuals of such nationality resident in continental United States as determined by the United States census of 1890, but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100." p. 159.

The outdated population data cut the quota for northern and western European countries by 29 per cent and the quota for southern and eastern Europeans by 87 per cent. For comparison see Table 1, infra, comparing subsequent immigration from England, Italy and Turkey.

A national origins base was to be used after 1927: "(b) The annual quota of any nationality for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1927, and for each fiscal year thereafter, shall be a number which bears the same ratio to 150,000 as the number of inhabitants in continental United States in 1920 having that national origin . . . but the minimum quota of any nationality shall be 100. . . . Such determination shall not be made by tracing the ancestors or descendants of particular individuals, but shall be based upon statistics of immigration and emigration, together with rates of increase of population as shown by successive decennial United States censuses, . . ." p. 159.

There has been a kind of method, albeit paradoxical and inconsistent, about American immigration policy, and as the welcome mat was withdrawn from the Southern Europeans, the "old immigrants", it was laid out at the southern border (the back door?) for the Mexican, one of the so called "new immigrants." Ironically, if the purpose of restrictive quotas was racial as experts and testimony before the 68th Congress attests[40] some of the newcomers now allowed in as Non-Quota Immigrants were darker-skinned than the Mediterranean peoples who were kept out.

> . . . "non-quota immigrant" means . . . (c) An immigrant who was born in the Dominion of Canada, New foundland, the Republic of Mexico, the Republic of Cuba, the Republic of Haiti, the Dominican Republic, the Canal Zone, or an independent country of Central or South America, . . .[41]

The racial import did not escape an opponent of non-quota immigration, Harry N. Laughlin, of the Eugenics Record Office, of Carnegie Institution:

> It seems clear than any sound vigorous, intelligent and social member of the white race can be assimilated by the American people. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . Consider the southwestern part of the United States. . . . During the last five or six years the racial problem has become acute. . . . The

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[40]Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1959), pp. 195, 196.

[41]Immigration Act of 1924, op. cit., p. 155.

> common Mexican, of course, is, as we know him, of mixed racial descent--principally Indian and Spanish, with occasionally a little mixture of black blood. The Mexican comes in freely because there is no quota against him, and during the last few years he has come here in such great numbers as almost to reverse the essential consequences of the Mexican War. The recent Mexican immigrants are making a reconquest of the Southwest. . . .[42]

If racial dilution of the seed stock was the fear:

> Racially the American people, if we are to remain American, and to purge our people of degeneracy, and to encourage a high rate of reproduction by the best endowed portions of our population, can successfully assimilate in the future many hundreds of thousands of northwestern Europeans. . . . But we can assimilate only a small fraction of this number of other white races, and of the colored races practically none.[43]

What had to be balanced in the immigration scales was this fear of "racial mongrelization" against the need for low paid stoop and pick labor. Eighty per cent of the development of the lower Rio Grande would not have taken place without Mexican labor, witnesses before the Senate subcommittee on immigration stated.

They do a kind of labor that "no white man will do" Texas Representative Garner, testified:

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[42]Hearings before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, 70th Congress, 1st Sess. (remarks of Dr. Harry Laughlin) March 7, 1928, pp. 10, 11.

[43]Ibid., p. 8.

> Social conditions are much higher among the Mexicans than they were 25 years ago . . . I remember when I used to hire a Mexican at 25 cents and 40 cents a day and 50 cents was a good price.[44]

Now, the Senator added:

> A man will come over with his family . . . and he will make $3 or $4 a day picking cotton . . . or they will make $3 or $4 a day for the entire family setting out onions.[45]

This low-level economic position, allowing as it did for the continuing admittance of the Mexican as a non-quota immigrant, both legally and extra-legally[46] also served as a hidden but significant factor in the continuing educational disenfranchisement of the Mexican child.

The Mexicans came in!

They flowed into rural areas in the Southwest, working almost exclusively in agriculture, railroad construction and related activities. (See Table 2)

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[44]Hearings before the Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Immigration, 70th Congress, 1st Sess. (remarks of Representative John N. Garner), p. 22.

[45]Ibid., p. 19.

[46]The Immigration Border Patrol at the House hearing had indicated there was a difference, at this time, of a head tax of $8.00 for a temporary visitor from Mexico, as against $18 for a permanent laborer.

TABLE 2

IMMIGRATION BY COUNTRY, FOR DECADES:
1820 - 1966

Countries	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950
All countries	5,246,613	3,687,564	8,795,386	5,735,811	4,107,209	528,431	1,035,039
Europe	4,737,046	3,558,978	8,136,016	4,376,564	2,477,853	348,289	621,704
Albania 12/	-	-	-	-	-	2,040	85
Austria) 2/	353,719	592,707	2,145,266	(453,649	32,868	3,563	24,260
Hungary) 2/				(442,693	30,680	7,861	3,469
Belgium	20,177	18,167	41,635	33,746	15,846	4,817	12,189
Bulgaria 11/	-	160	39,280	22,533	2,945	938	375
Czechoslovakia 12/	-	-	-	3,426	102,194	14,393	8,347
Denmark	88,132	50,231	65,285	41,983	32,430	2,559	5,393
Estonia	-	-	-	-	-	506	212
Finland 12/	-	-	-	756	16,691	2,146	2,503
France	50,464	30,770	73,379	61,897	49,610	12,623	38,809
Germany 2/	1,452,970	505,152	341,498	143,945	412,202	114,058	226,578
Great Britain (England	644,680	216,726	388,017	249,944	157,420	21,756	112,252
Great Britain (Scotland	149,869	44,188	120,469	78,357	159,781	6,887	16,131
Great Britain (Wales	12,640	10,557	17,464	13,107	13,012	735	3,209
Great Britain (Not specified 3/	168	67	-	-	-	-	-
Greece	2,308	15,979	167,519	184,201	51,084	9,119	8,973
Ireland	655,482	388,416	339,065	146,181	220,591	13,167	26,967
Italy	307,309	651,893	2,045,877	1,109,524	455,315	68,028	57,661
Latvia 12/	-	-	-	-	-	1,192	361
Lithuania 12/	-	-	-	-	-	2,201	683
Luxembourg 16/	-	-	-	-	-	565	820
Netherlands	53,701	26,758	48,262	43,718	26,948	7,150	14,860
Norway 4/	176,586	95,015	190,505	66,395	68,531	4,740	10,100
Poland 5/	51,806	96,720	-	4,813	227,734	17,026	7,571
Portugal	16,978	27,508	69,149	89,732	29,994	3,329	7,423
Rumania 13/	6,348	12,750	53,008	13,311	67,646	3,871	1,076
Spain	4,419	8,731	27,935	68,611	28,958	3,258	2,898
Sweden 4/	391,776	226,266	249,534	95,074	97,249	3,960	10,665
Switzerland	81,988	31,179	34,922	23,091	29,676	5,512	10,547
Turkey in Europe	1,562	3,626	79,976	54,677	14,659	737	580
U.S.S.R. 6/	213,282	505,290	1,597,306	921,201	61,742	1,356	548
Yugoslavia 11/	-	-	-	1,888	49,064	5,835	1,576
Other Europe	682	122	665	8,111	22,983	2,361	3,983
Asia	68,380	71,236	243,567	192,559	97,400	15,344	31,760
China	61,711	14,799	20,605	21,278	29,907	4,928	16,709
India	269	68	4,713	2,082	1,886	496	1,761
Japan 7/	2,270	25,942	129,797	83,837	33,462	1,948	1,555
Turkey in Asia 8/	2,220	26,799	77,393	79,389	19,165	328	218
Other Asia	1,910	3,628	11,059	5,973	12,980	7,644	11,537
America	426,967	38,972	361,888	1,143,671	1,516,716	160,037	354,804
Canada & Newfoundland 9/	393,304	3,311	179,226	742,185	924,515	108,527	171,718
Mexico 10/	1,913	971	49,642	219,004	459,287	22,319	60,589
West Indies	29,042	33,066	107,548	123,424	74,899	15,502	49,725
Central America	404	549	8,192	17,159	15,769	5,861	21,665
South America	2,304	1,075	17,280	41,899	42,215	7,803	21,831
Other America 14/	-	-	-	-	31	25	29,276
Africa	857	350	7,368	8,443	6,286	1,730	7,367
Australia & New Zealand	7,017	2,740	11,975	12,348	8,299	2,231	13,805
Pacific Islands	5,557	1,225	1,049	1,079	427	780	5,437
Not specified 15/	789	14,063	33,523	1,147	228	-	142

Source: Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D. C., 1966, p. 56.

The early immigrants and those coming later have clustered consistently in a few counties, establishing a minority that is spatially separated. The Census of 1870 lists more than 20,000 foreign born Mexicans in Texas. A breakdown by counties of the Mexican immigrant population in Texas from 1870 through 1900 is tabulated in Chapter V. What can be noted from the tabulation is a kind of historical permanence in specific spaces. The same spaces to which the "new Mexican immigrants" came during the heaviest influx, 1921-1930.

The gates were opened because of their economic usefulness:

> . . . with their assistance, American industry was able to grow and compete successfully with the older establishments of Europe. Yet the United States did so without pauperizing its own population. It enjoyed, therefore the double advantage of a cheap labour force and of markets that continued to grow with rising prosperity of the native population. Unskilled labour was thus of critical importance to the economy of the country . . .[47]

49,642 were enumerated between 1901 and 1910
219,004 were enumerated between 1911 and 1920
459,287 were enumerated between 1921 and 1930

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[47]Oscar and Mary F. Handlin, "The United States" Population and Culture, The Positive Contribution of Immigrants; A Symposium, International Sociological Association (Paris: UNESCO, 1955), p. 21.

By the Fifteenth Census of the United States in 1930, close to a million and a half persons were enumerated as born in Mexico or were of Mexican parentage. All but 10% settled in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.[48]

In Texas, the Mexicans numbered 683,681 by 1930. They were settled in a few Texas counties:[49]

Bexar 98,901	El Paso 77,389	Nueces 23,276
Cameron 38,343	Hidalgo 41,522	Webb 29,601

And they clustered in a few Texas cities:

El Paso (El Paso County) 53,291
San Antonio (Bexar County) 82,373
Corpus Christi (Nueces County) 11,377

In the same 1930 census,[50] the Mexican[51] groups

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[48]Jose Hernandez Alvarez, "A Demographic Profile of the Mexican Immigration to the United States, 1910-1950" Journal of Inter-American Studies, Vol. VIII, No. 3(July 1966), pp. 471-474.

[49]U. S. Bureau of the Census, 15th Census, 1930. Population, Vol. III, Part 2, pp. 1014, 1015.

[50]Internationally, three census statistics have been used for analyzing ethnic data: country of birth, language and nationality. Max Lacroix and Edith Adams, "Statistics for Studying Assimilation of Migrants" Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 72.

[51]Prior to 1930 Mexicans were classified as white. In the 1930 census Mexican was defined as persons of Mexican birth or parentage who were not definitely returned as white, Negro, Japanese or Indian.

in the first and second generation were found to be 12.1 per cent of the entire Texas population.

Although problems relating to the Mexican and Mexican American--in the 1920's and currently--seem to resolve around immigration, both legal and illegal; it is significant to this study to note that not all Mexicans in the United States are immigrants. Some Mexican Americans had forebears from among those primary settlers in the area that is now Texas but was once part of Mexico. (See Chapter II for a brief history of the Spanish/Mexican settlement of Texas.)

Tales of injustice are apt to be passed from generation to generation, and Mexican Americans have not forgotten the fact that Mexicans have been in Texas from its beginning.

It is not for this study to determine the precise relationship between this continuing need for a low-skilled labor force and the shunting-out process of the schools as they functioned and have continued to function for the Mexican American. It is also too simplistic to insist that these "new immigrants" inherited the burden of the Americanization proselytizing that had become the raison d'etre of the schools where there were large immigrant

school populations. There were additional historical, social, religious and economic dynamics at work in the Southwest: wars, border troubles, land hunger, Nativism, anti-Catholicism, Know-Nothingism, poverty etc.

What did occur and is the concern of this study was that children of Mexicans, some of whom were immigrants, some native-born, some children of migrant-workers, frequently dark-skinned and/or of Indian heritage, non-English speaking from the peasant or laboring classes of Mexico with a high degree of illiteracy,[52] of Catholic persuasion; a group whose looks, values, life-style, time-style, religious beliefs were at the opposite pole to that of the Anglos, became part of a school population involved in Anglo enculturation. "The schools reflecting the dominant view of the dominant culture, want that child to grow up another Anglo."[53]

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[52]The percentage of illiteracy in Mexico in 1940 was 52%; in 1950--48%; in 1959--40%. From a pamphlet published by the Direccion General de Alfabetizacion y Educacion Extraescolar on the Fifteenth Anniversary of the National Campaign Against Illiteracy. Mexico, 1959.

[53]U. S. Congress, Senate, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, The Bill to Amend The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 90 Cong., 1st Sess. (Remarks of A. Bruce Gaarder, U. S. Office of Education) May 1967, Part 1, pp. 167, 168.

In the scholastic census of 1930 the children having Spanish surnames[54] were 13.3 per cent of the Texas school population (see Table 3).

A study of Minority Problems in the Public Schools, in the 1940's revealed that in an economically privileged community, with 1,000 Latin Americans, no Spanish was spoken in the elementary school, there were no Latin teachers, no evidence was found that the educational program penetrated behind the exterior of middle class authority and idealogy which were "the most pervading characteristics of the community viewed in its total setting."[55] (To understand how total the Spanish background of such a child may be: A study made in 1965 in San Antonio, Texas found that of six hundred Mexican American adults interviewed, 71 per cent of husbands and wives spoke only Spanish to their grandchildren.)[56]

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[54]American census data relating to the Mexican ethnic group has utilized classifications such as Spanish surname, mother tongue and home language. There is a high degree of inaccuracy. For example: a count in four schools of 1,725 pupils whose home language was Spanish revealed approximately 11 per cent with non Spanish surnames. Hershel T. Manuel, "The Mexican Population in Texas" The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1, June 1934, pp. 21, 22.

[55]Theodore Brameld, Minority Problems in the Public Schools (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946), pp. 130, 149, 152.

[56]Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, op. cit., Part I, p. 168.

TABLE 3

TEXAS SCHOLASTIC POPULATION

	Mexican*	Other White	Total White	Colored	Grand Total
1930 Ages 6-17	208,517	1,096,863	1,305,380	258,215	1,563,595
No. Per cent	13.3	70.2	83.5	16.5	100
1930 Ages 7-17	187,490	1,004,305	1,192,245	236,382	1,428,627
No. Per cent	13.2	70.3	83.5	16.5	100
1928 Ages 7-17	182,489	986,947	1,169,436	235,988	1,405,424
No. Per cent	13.0	70.2	83.2	16.8	100
1922 Ages 7-17 (Part of state only)**					
Per cent	10.5	71.6	82.1	17.9	100

*Including other Spanish-Americans.
**Since 26 counties are lacking, only percentages are given in this item of the table.

Source: Hershel T. Manuel, "The Mexican Population in Texas", The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 1, (June 1934) pp.21, 22.

> Little children, many of whom enter school knowing no English and speaking only Spanish are denied the use of their language. Spanish is forbidden to them, and . . .
>
> Thus the Mexican-American child is wrongly led to believe from his first day of school that there is something wrong with him, because of his language. This misbelief soon spreads to the image he has of his culture, of the history of his people, and of his people themselves.[57]

This language barrier has also been used to segregate Spanish-name children. They have been graded in I. Q. tests given in English although many of the concepts and words had not yet been taught in school. They were thus relegated to slow or mentally retarded classes. At best, the lack of English meant that many Mexican children were submerged, ungraded as to abilities, in special classes, in which little educational motivation was provided.[58]

In the 1950's a study of the problems of migratory workers found that where these workers made their home base as many as 40 per cent of the children of school age do not

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[57]U. S. Congress, Senate, Senator Yarborough of Texas speaking before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, The Bill to Amend The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, 90th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 17, 1967, Congressional Record, Vol. 113, No. 5.

[58]George I. Sanchez, "The Implications of Basal Vocabulary to the Measurements of the Abilities of Bilingual Children" Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. V (1943) p. 395.

attend school, some attend three months a year.[59]

Further, the available statistics are not reliable on this subject: In a town where Mexican Americans total 3,100, in the 1957-1958 school year 400 more children were registered in the eighth week of the term than in the first week.[60]

These were local studies, but they do not differ in import or conclusion from a more generalized picture of the educational situation for the Mexican American in the southwest that was presented in 1967.

In the Southwest as a whole, one-sixth of the school age population was Mexican American, with 40% of the group living in Texas. This comprised about 16% of the state's school population, or, one out of every seven child was of Mexican descent, and classified as of Spanish-speaking background.[61]

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[59]Lowell Lester Tubbs, "A Survey of the Problems of Migratory Mexicans" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Texas, 1952), p. 57.

[60]Arthur J. Rubel, Mexican-Americans in a Texas City, (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 10.

[61]U. S. Congress, Senate, Prof. Faye Bumpass speaking before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, The Bill to Amend The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. 90th Cong., 1st sess., May, 1967, Congressional Record, Vol. 113, No. 81.

In 1960, there were almost one-half million of these children of school age (between the ages of five and fifteen). Twenty per cent were not enrolled in school. Similar figures exist in the other four Southwestern states.[62]

The Census for 1960: Subject Reports on Nativity and Parentage provides a table of Years of School Completed by Foreign Stock 14 years old and over, by regions, for 1960 (see Table 4).

These statistics indicate that for the male, native born, of Mexican or mixed parentage, between the ages of 14 to 24 years, the years of school completed was 9.5; for those 25 to 34--9.0; for those 35 to 44--8.2 (the figures for the female were closely parallel). In the South, the figures for the same group read 8.4, 7.4, 5.9, 4.0.[63]

Although these statistics indicated increased schooling over the years for the Mexican American student, there was a significant gap between the Mexican student,

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[62] Ibid.

[63] U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960. Subject Reports: Nativity and Parentage, Social and Economic Characteristics of the Foreign Stock by Country of Origin, p. 66.

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TABLE 4

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THE FOREIGN STOCK 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY NATIVITY, PARENTAGE, SELECTED COUNTRY OF ORIGIN, AGE, AND SEX, FOR THE UNITED STATES, BY REGIONS: 1960

(Based on 25-percent sample. Median not shown where base is less than 200. Data shown for countries of origin with 400,000 or more persons of foreign stock in 1960 and for Finland)

AREA, YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED, AND SEX	MEXICO													
	NATIVE OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE							FOREIGN BORN						
	14 TO 24 YEARS	25 TO 34 YEARS	35 TO 44 YEARS	45 TO 54 YEARS	55 TO 64 YEARS	65 TO 74 YEARS	75 AND OVER	14 TO 24 YEARS	25 TO 34 YEARS	35 TO 44 YEARS	45 TO 54 YEARS	55 TO 64 YEARS	65 TO 74 YEARS	75 AND OVER
UNITED STATES														
MALE	121 400	128 059	82 615	34 083	14 139	6 520	2 258	41 552	50 339	51 867	52 592	48 790	26 131	10 602
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS	7 711	23 395	21 483	14 885	8 228	4 777	1 649	13 984	24 832	24 693	27 601	32 176	19 445	8 555
5 TO 7 YEARS	26 123	24 013	17 893	8 124	2 990	926	315	11 329	10 905	11 212	11 397	8 346	3 532	1 142
8 YEARS	19 653	16 602	11 151	3 932	1 345	373	136	4 706	3 572	4 615	4 965	3 636	1 460	354
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	42 782	28 968	16 115	5 872	762	183	51	7 234	4 234	4 541	3 700	1 590	488	194
4 YEARS	18 587	21 167	10 233	2 238	490	139	44	2 585	3 103	3 762	2 882	1 760	697	205
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	5 799	9 484	3 576	634	163	78	43	1 516	1 975	1 765	1 208	826	257	70
4 YEARS OR MORE	745	4 470	2 204	398	161	44	20	218	1 718	1 319	843	456	252	82
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	9.5	9.0	8.2	5.8	4.3	3.4	3.4	6.8	5.1	5.3	4.8	3.8	3.4	3.1
FEMALE	123 781	132 066	86 699	32 647	13 575	5 842	2 410	56 375	39 203	38 698	49 408	43 488	23 209	11 699
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS	8 086	24 465	25 766	14 955	8 218	3 965	1 578	8 163	15 190	14 965	26 661	28 864	18 335	9 157
5 TO 7 YEARS	24 243	26 253	19 903	8 313	2 725	897	385	11 262	10 042	10 242	11 053	7 598	3 539	1 117
8 YEARS	20 103	17 761	11 023	3 358	1 076	379	169	5 165	3 714	4 132	4 456	2 891	1 462	584
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	42 628	29 377	15 460	3 292	766	295	131	7 173	3 991	4 120	3 054	1 538	617	215
4 YEARS	23 431	27 334	11 754	1 998	510	188	72	3 398	4 122	3 785	2 883	1 701	851	441
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	4 615	4 817	2 031	447	151	98	35	1 038	1 436	956	827	519	198	97
4 YEARS OR MORE	675	2 059	764	284	129	40	40	200	708	534	474	333	207	88
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	9.7	8.9	7.7	5.5	4.1	3.7	3.8	7.7	6.3	6.3	4.6	3.8	3.8	3.2
NORTHEAST														
MALE	1 473	1 330	649	221	138	55	24	386	598	579	794	1 062	378	60
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS	13	29	33	8	30	14	4	8	17	90	154	337	168	20
5 TO 7 YEARS	126	92	77	48	28	4	4	33	92	79	108	201	66	12
8 YEARS	122	101	69	32	28	14	4	60	61	62	158	174	29	12
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	616	328	144	36	8	...	4	80	93	101	125	78	14	4
4 YEARS	417	392	174	64	18	19	8	99	101	76	126	126	29	8
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	148	171	52	12	10	4	...	62	69	48	64	87	32	4
4 YEARS OR MORE	35	217	100	21	16	...	...	44	201	119	61	39	40	...
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	11.3	12.3	12.0	10.9	...	...	...	12.1	12.7	10.7	8.9	7.6	6.0	...
FEMALE	1 350	1 461	491	186	90	72	32	567	738	533	942	695	180	92
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS	20	24	16	4	16	4	8	75	85	75	96	152	49	49
5 TO 7 YEARS	87	89	25	39	20	8	9	58	146	69	58	102	42	12
8 YEARS	176	105	61	35	13	12	3	66	63	92	101	62	44	21
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	499	366	89	39	7	16	4	152	137	83	46	94	...	...
4 YEARS	441	647	207	34	26	24	4	145	151	101	139	77	11	5
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	111	161	55	19	8	4	...	59	69	75	50	32	17	...
4 YEARS OR MORE	25	69	38	16	...	4	4	12	84	38	52	16	17	5
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED	11.6	12.2	12.3	...	...	...	...	10.7	10.6	10.1	10.0	7.8	...	...

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TABLE 4--Continued

NORTH CENTRAL																
MALE.	10 825	13 430	6 937	1 842	698	232	67	2 934	5 568	4 723	4 859	5 766	2 394	522		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	435	1 777	1 587	679	327	152	34	318	1 125	1 216	2 160	3 419	1 707	379		
5 TO 7 YEARS	1 900	2 379	1 523	475	171	16	9	931	1 501	1 208	1 188	1 087	319	71		
8 YEARS.	1 902	2 083	1 062	301	88	22	16	527	796	633	667	782	230	44		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	4 110	3 268	1 423	159	73	17	...	704	920	682	350	210	35	13		
4 YEARS.	2 028	2 619	841	156	21	...	...	289	513	508	331	173	54	10		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	372	904	306	32	14	13	...	128	298	305	115	89	30	5		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	78	400	195	40	4	12	8	37	415	175	68	46	19	...		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	9.9	9.4	8.3	6.5	5.4	3.8	...	8.4	8.2	7.8	5.7	4.2	3.5	3.4		
FEMALE.	11 289	12 300	5 692	1 466	475	181	79	3 103	4 128	3 118	3 547	3 197	1 369	496		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	459	1 420	1 144	663	257	77	13	378	1 009	842	1 887	2 063	963	354		
5 TO 7 YEARS	1 707	2 155	1 225	355	93	24	17	977	1 027	852	777	545	177	81		
8 YEARS.	1 721	2 150	1 003	145	40	25	16	537	626	533	411	272	95	36		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	4 271	2 878	1 206	170	48	24	13	665	599	330	163	112	40	5		
4 YEARS.	2 658	3 039	945	79	20	12	12	390	515	376	175	136	79	12		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	385	479	120	37	8	9	...	134	227	97	95	49	8	8		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	58	179	49	17	9	10	8	22	125	88	39	20	7	...		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	10.2	9.4	8.5	5.6	4.6	...	...	8.4	8.0	7.5	4.7	3.9	3.6	3.5		
SOUTH																
MALE.	47 742	45 103	32 045	16 468	7 425	3 734	1 325	12 330	12 845	15 408	19 530	16 956	10 565	5 033		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	5 422	14 027	13 727	10 321	5 428	3 039	1 069	3 721	7 203	8 730	12 702	12 826	8 431	4 240		
5 TO 7 YEARS	15 423	10 829	7 683	3 351	1 185	465	150	4 125	2 721	3 323	3 534	2 426	1 340	473		
8 YEARS.	7 086	4 160	2 525	848	352	69	37	1 349	484	801	1 006	598	295	96		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	12 356	6 216	3 547	1 018	210	66	23	2 103	763	860	875	296	146	75		
4 YEARS.	5 359	5 613	2 682	624	127	53	13	575	725	909	795	434	196	77		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	1 773	2 739	1 095	179	62	26	25	390	420	389	315	212	51	28		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	323	1 519	786	127	61	16	8	67	529	396	303	164	106	44		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	8.4	7.4	5.9	4.0	3.4	3.1	3.1	6.8	4.5	4.4	3.8	3.3	3.1	3.0		
FEMALE.	48 604	49 648	35 622	15 901	7 591	3 445	1 393	14 385	15 435	18 422	19 565	17 312	10 899	5 632		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	5 737	16 196	17 443	10 091	5 614	2 674	1 062	4 405	7 851	7 719	12 965	13 081	8 668	4 784		
5 TO 7 YEARS	14 626	12 830	8 881	3 343	1 137	408	196	5 040	3 910	3 649	3 707	2 558	1 330	459		
8 YEARS.	7 087	4 408	2 306	846	314	135	44	1 548	856	819	840	599	358	142		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	12 645	6 499	3 027	805	239	133	35	1 969	939	878	767	402	195	97		
4 YEARS.	6 866	7 489	3 064	534	142	52	29	1 015	1 208	997	877	443	208	107		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	1 440	1 396	592	133	68	29	12	305	430	192	231	149	77	15		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	243	830	309	149	77	14	15	63	241	168	178	120	63	30		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	8.6	7.0	5.1	3.9	3.4	3.2	3.3	6.6	4.9	4.7	3.8	3.3	3.1	2.9		
WEST																
MALE.	61 360	68 196	42 984	15 552	5 878	2 499	842	25 902	31 332	31 161	27 409	25 006	12 794	4 987		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	1 841	7 522	6 096	3 877	2 443	1 572	542	9 917	16 487	14 617	12 585	10 578	9 139	3 918		
5 TO 7 YEARS	8 674	10 713	8 610	4 250	1 606	441	152	6 240	6 591	6 602	6 587	4 632	1 807	586		
8 YEARS.	10 543	10 258	7 495	2 751	877	268	79	2 770	2 231	3 119	3 134	2 122	906	202		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	25 730	19 136	11 001	2 659	471	100	24	4 347	2 498	2 898	2 350	1 006	393	102		
4 YEARS.	10 783	12 543	6 536	1 394	324	67	23	1 622	1 764	2 273	1 632	1 027	418	110		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	3 510	5 670	2 123	411	77	35	18	936	1 188	1 023	710	438	144	33		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	799	2 334	1 123	210	80	16	4	70	573	629	411	207	87	38		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	10.1	9.9	8.9	7.8	5.9	4.0	3.9	6.5	4.8	5.4	5.3	4.0	3.5	3.2		
FEMALE.	62 159	68 657	44 894	15 094	5 419	2 144	906	18 360	18 905	20 621	25 754	22 480	12 761	5 479		
ELEMENTARY: LESS THAN 5 YEARS. . .	1 870	6 825	7 161	4 197	2 331	1 190	495	3 285	6 245	6 329	11 713	13 608	8 855	5 970		
5 TO 7 YEARS	7 823	11 179	9 772	4 576	1 475	457	163	5 187	4 959	5 672	6 511	4 393	1 990	565		
8 YEARS.	11 159	11 088	7 653	2 332	709	207	106	3 014	2 169	2 688	3 104	1 958	965	385		
HIGH SCHOOL: 1 TO 3 YEARS	25 213	19 634	11 138	2 278	472	122	79	4 387	2 316	2 829	2 078	970	382	113		
4 YEARS.	13 466	16 159	7 538	1 351	322	100	27	1 844	2 248	2 271	1 692	1 048	883	317		
COLLEGE: 1 TO 3 YEARS	2 679	2 781	1 264	258	67	36	23	540	710	592	451	289	96	76		
4 YEARS OR MORE. . . .	949	981	368	102	43	12	13	103	258	240	205	177	120	83		
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED . . .	10.2	9.8	8.7	7.2	5.8	4.5	4.6	8.2	6.9	7.1	5.5	4.1	3.7	3.5		

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1960 Subject Reports: Nativity and Parentage. Social and Economic Characteristics of the Foreign Stock by Country of Origin, p. 66.

Anglos and non-whites. The gap between Anglos and Mexican Americans was 5 years or 41 per cent.[64] A younger group, between the ages of 14 to 24 had 9.5 years of schooling, compared to 11.3 for Anglos and 10.6 for non-whites. The gap still represented 2.1 years or 19 per cent.[65]

These figures indicated an expectation of less than 10 years of schooling for 16% of the Texas population - potential technological illiteracy. Is this the calculated purpose of the power structure using the schools to achieve their ends? That is the hypothesis of Chicano activists.

But even outside sophisticated observers attested to oppression.[66]

> The schools use a variety of exclusionary practices which deny the Chicano student the use of his language, a pride in his heritage, and the support of his community.[67]

The United States Commission on Civil Rights, in a report issued May 1972, charged that the constitutional

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[64]U. S. Congress, Senate, Senator Yarborough speaking before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education, The Bill to Amend The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. 90th Cong., 1st sess., Jan. 17, 1967, Congressional Record, Vol. 113, No. 5.

[65]Ibid.

[66]"Chicano Students Called Oppressed." New York Times, May 3, 1972, p. 11.

[67]Ibid.

right of the individual Mexican to equal educational opportunity was being violated by this process of exclusion.

They indicated that the suppression of the Spanish language was widespread. When Mexican American students attempt to express themselves in Spanish, the report indicated, they are met with repressive devices that not only inhibit their ability to communicate their ideas and feelings but also subtly undermine their pride in their culture and origins.

The commission issued its report based on a study of 1.4 million Chicanos, representing about 17 per cent of the total enrollment of the public schools of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.

> . . . acculturation is essentially a one-way process in the schools. . . The Chicanos must absorb the Anglo society entirely, while the Anglos pick and choose what they want from the Chicano background . . .[68]

This assimilative rationale results in the noticeabily high drop out rates, early terminal schooling. There is then the resultant continuing cycle of poverty, welfare and an uneducated and oppressed stoop labor force.

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[68] Ibid.

Liberty and justice for all, is as much of a myth in the Southwest, as is the image of the United States as "One Nation Indivisible . . ."

CHAPTER II

MEXICAN AMERICANS

In the Southwest the Mexican American is classified as Mexican, Latin, Latin-American Spanish, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-surname and Spanish American. Most recently a small politically activist group has self-designated the minority as "Chicano" a term that had been in use in the area as a derogatory expletive. This has been accepted by young Mexican Americans and become part of the sociological vocabulary of the mass media, in general.

Still another classification "having an origin in a Spanish speaking country" was used in a 1960 census count.[1] Nine point two million Americans identified themselves[2] in this manner. More than 5 million (55 per cent of the 9.2 million) are Mexican Americans with 4.3 million or 79.2 per cent living in the five Southwestern

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[1]Bureau of the Census report, 1960. Category cited in Subject Reports, Nativity and Parentage of the Eighteenth Census.

[2]This is the first time the bureau has used the category "Spanish Origins" which is self-identifying. That is, people were merely asked if they considered themselves to be of Spanish origin. The 1970 Census was conducted primarily through self-enumeration.

states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas. Significant numbers of Mexican Americans are also living and working in Illinois and Michigan.

If effort seems to be deployed in affixing the right name and assessing the right numbers[3] it is because of the enormity of a frontal attack on prejudice that is an historical attitude, so deeply embedded in the Southwest, as to manifest itself as unconscious.[4]

New self-awareness, self-identity, militancy, civil-rights, unionization and boycott activities since the 1960's have all worked to change the economic position of Mexican Americans slightly. What appears to be most resistant to change, however, is the continuing lack of depth perception by the Anglo power structure of the worth, dignity and humanity of this different culture group.

In this climate of dominant-submissive relationships borne of the history of the area and the psychology of the

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[3]This numbers' game is significant in the politics of population--i.e., poverty funds have been distributed on the basis of the numbers of Spanish speaking children, etc. It is also significant in the economics and politics of immigration.

[4]U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Excluded Student (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, May 1972), p. 31.

two groups that met there, (the Anglo an actual immigrant in the land that was first part of the colonizing efforts of Spain and then part of the Republic of Mexico, after that country declared independence in 1821) education functions as a transmitting system for Anglo "superiority."

History, after all, a verbal reconstruction of realities, by man--in this case the conquerors, the Anglos, reflects this skewing, and the Mexican student, if he is to accept the assimilative rationale of the schools, must also accept this lost and/or degraded past and its implications of a near hopeless future.

The Mexican American is one of the least assimilated groups in the country,[5] partially because of this insistence

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[5]Acculturation of this group has been seen as a three-generational process and a middle or upper class phenomenon. The base line a traditional folk-culture modified by its Texas setting. A second level of acculturation, individuals caught in the value conflict between Mexican values and those learned in United States society. These Mexican Americans compartmentalize their lives. On the same level, a group consciously attempting transfer from Mexican American folk culture to that of the dominant society. An attempt frequently marked by severe anxiety about identity and community. The third level of acculturation includes Mexican Americans who have achieved status in the English speaking world. William Madsen, The Mexican-Americans of South Texas (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1964), pp. 2, 3.

This entire process may be truncated and changed by "Chicano" self-identity, that can embrace, by choice, all classes of this community, as the Black Revolution, has, in effect. (Supra, Chapt. I, p. 3.)

on a phenomena presented to the school children as good citizenship,[6] partially because of the nearness of the Mexican border, making visiting and Mexican culture reinforcement simple, and partially because of the de facto spatial separation, which allows the Mexican American to live in almost similar environments to that he might have left in Mexico.

The Spanish heritage of the area is older than that of the American Union and there are "Spanish" settlers that can point to ancestry that goes back to the Spanish Conquistadors, but the schools' curriculum and textbooks offer no opportunity for the Mexican American to learn about his roots or the substantial contributions of the Indo-Hispanic heritage. "Until recently, Spanish, has been tacitly assumed to be an inferior language," said a Texas teacher explaining the punitive treatment afforded youngsters who spoke their "home" language in school.[7]

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[6]Teachers urge them to remember that English is the official language of this country and a mark of good citizenship. One school held a poster-making contest entitled "Why good citizens speak English." William Madsen, The Mexican-Americans, op. cit., pp. 106, 107. Also, Arthur J. Rubel, Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 10, 11.

[7]Stan Steiner, La Raza (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1969), p. 211.

". . . the conflict of cultures in the schools of the Southwest is an unending conflict between the conquered and the conqueror."[8] This perception of the relationship between the Anglos and the Mexican Americans which had been limited to a few radical Chicanos, spread to the young Mexican American in the 1970's. The Presidential primaries for the Democratic Party in 1972 reflected some newly "included" groups, among them, the Chicanos.[9]

Although country-wide acceptance of this new voting splinter has not been overwhelming, it is to be expected that local schools, under the pressure of a self-aware electorate, will research and assess the "lost history" and new found cultural pride of "La Raza", the

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[8]Ibid., p. 213.

[9]Under the Democrats' reform procedures for selecting delegates, of the 48 delegates and alternates picked in Arizona, 18 were women, 14 were Chicanos, and 19 were under 30 years of age. Ms. Anna Chavez, one delegate felt that most American schools destroy young Mexican-Americans. "They kept making us feel the difference between us and them, but they never made us feel that the difference was good," she said. "We always felt inferior." In 1970 the Chicano movement in Arizona staged a boycott of local schools to protest alleged racial discrimination. "During the boycott, she said, "we saw the importance of politics, of getting some representation on the school board." Steven V. Roberts, The New York Times, February 14, 1972.

Mexican American race.[10]

That "lost past" involving as it does the Spanish explorations and adventures in Texas, began in the 1500's. The Conquistadors' search for material wealth was embedded in myth, fantasy and romance. In Texas their search was for the Gran Quivira where "the jugs and bowls were of gold"; for the Seven Hills of the Aijados, where gold was so plentiful that "the natives not knowing any of the other metals, make of it everything they need, even the tips of arrows and lances"; for the Sierra de la Plata (Silver Mountains) somewhere north of the Rio Grande; for the pearls of the Jumano country; and for the "Great Kingdom of Texas" a people who had been converted by a woman in blue, were ruled by a powerful Lord, had well built towns each several miles in length and raised grain in such abundance that they even fed it to their horses.[11]

The myths remained myths (although pearls were found on the Nueces, one hundred years later) but Texas was

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[10]There are some evidences in this direction: Fall 1972 catalog of San Diego State College had a Mexican American studies program that included graduate and undergraduate course work in Indo-Hispanic heritage, taught for the most part by Mexican Americans.

[11]Herbert E. Bolton, "The Spanish Occupation of Texas 1519-1690" Southwestern Historical Review, XVI, No. 1 (1912), pp. 1, 2.

criss-crossed by the explorers: In 1522 Panuco was founded by Cortes (see Map 1) and in 1528 two expeditions from that point explored the coast north of the Rio Grande for mineral deposits. In that same year Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca was cast on the shore of Texas and made his way across the whole southwestern border of the present state of Texas. In 1542, a band led by Coronado entered the northwestern border. Coronado, who had come by way of the Pacific Slope to New Mexico in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, disappointed, circled and searched from the Upper Pecos River, southeastward to the upper Colorado, north across the Brazos, Red, Canadian and Arkansas Rivers, eastward into Central Kansas and back to the Pecos, in an effort to find the Gran Quivira.[12]

Explorers, exploiters, colonizers, missionaries continued to history the region: In 1579 Luis de Carabajal pursued Indians into the country north of Panuco and was commissioned to conquer and settle. He opened the mines of San Gregorio, founded the city of Leon (near modern Mier) later founding the villa of Almaden. He was arrested by the Inquisition on the charge of Judaism and thrown into prison in Mexico, where he died.[13]

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[12] Ibid., pp. 4, 5. [13] Ibid., p. 12.

Searching the area between the Pecos and the Rio Grande: Father Rodriguez in 1581, Espejo in 1582, Castano de Sosa in 1590, Bonilla and Juan de Humana about 1595. In 1598 Juan de Onate, one of Mexico's wealthiest men, took 400 soldiers and several thousand head of cattle to colonize New Mexico. Then, using New Mexico as a starting point, accompanied by two friars and eighty men, reached La Matanza known as the "death place" after Juan de Humana was destroyed by Indians there--engaged in a battle with the Escanjaques Indians and returned.[14]

The possibility of great wealth among the various Indian Tribes stirred further expeditionary fever. The Jumanos tribe living on the buffalo plains 200 leagues southeast of Santa Fe, on the Nueces became the focus of interest. They were first visited by Father Juan de Salas of Isleta. Eighteen years later, captains Hernando Martin and Diego del Castilla gathering shells from the Jumanos found pearls. Samples were sent to the Viceroy in Mexico and another expedition was ordered to the Nueces in 1654.[15]

Spanish interest rose in a powerful nation called the "Kingdom of Texas". In 1676 The Bishop of Guadalajara visited Coahuila recommending missions to convert "the

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[14] Ibid., pp. 5, 6. [15] Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

people of that nation which they call Texas."[16] By 1659 the El Paso region was formed as a result of a Spanish retreat from an Indian uprising, the remainder of Texas was claimed by New Spain in 1700 and there was a permanent Spanish settlement in San Antonio by 1718. However, these were two separate settlements with little contact between Texas and New Mexico and much of the area between the two settlements was occupied by Comanches.[17]

By the 1770's Spain had succeeded in creating permanent communities on the coast of Southern California from Yerba Buena (San Francisco) to San Diego. (See Map 1)

1790 The White Population of the Southwest

Arizona 1,000	California 1,000	New Mexico 15,000	Texas 6,000

The approximately 23,000 were Spanish and Spanish-speaking.[18]

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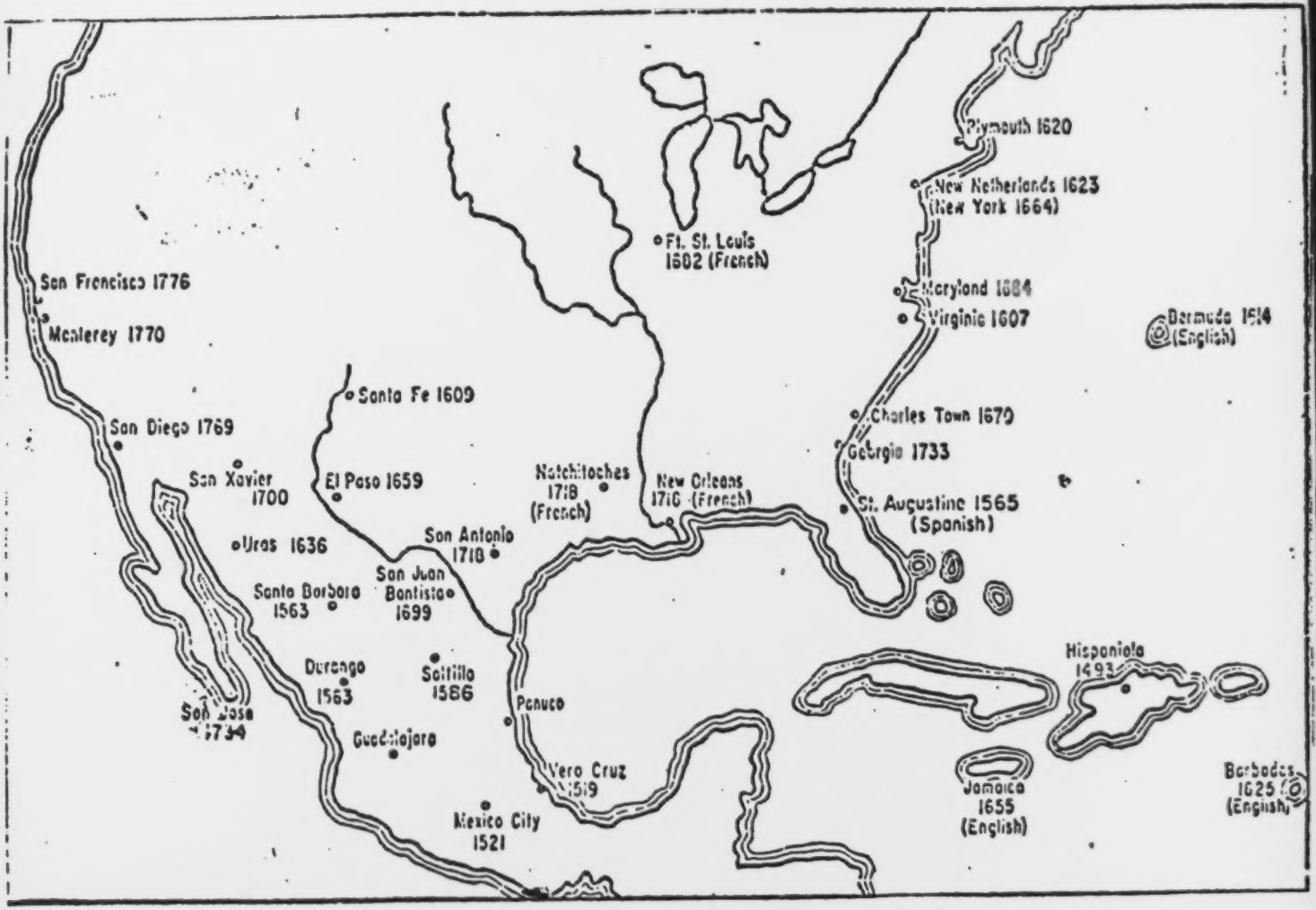
[16]They have houses made of wood, cultivate the soil, plant maize and other crops, wear clothers, . . . the Great Lord of the Texas does not permit foreign nations to enter the interior of his country. Ibid., p. 16.

[17]Jane MacNab Christian and Chester C. Christian, Jr. "Spanish Language and Culture in the Southwest" Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1966), p. 282.

[18]Herschel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest (Austin University of Texas Press, 1965), p. 17.

MAP 1

Early Settlements in North America



Source: Hershel T. Manuel, Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest, University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, p. 15.

In Texas, the 6,000 were clustered in settlements around San Antonio. Because few voluntary settlers were attracted to the area, Spain forcibly moved residents of the Canary Island to San Antonio and later established penal colonies in Texas in efforts to strengthen the province.[19]

> The Spanish farmed and mined: they built aqueducts that still operate; theirs were the first wheels to turn on the continent; they introduced many grains, fruits, vegetables and fibers to the land; they brought livestock and turned the horse loose in America; they organized cities and built over 50 missions from southern Louisiana to north of San Francisco Bay.[20]

But there was no great surge of settlers to the area and Spain seeking colonizers, confirmed a grant of land in Texas to an American, Moses Austin, in Jan. 17, 1821, this was to be used for the settlement of three hundred families. This was the grant that was to change the history of the southwest. When Moses Austin died, the land grant was transferred to Stephen Austin, his son. (There were other land grants confirmed to DeWitt and

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[19]Jane MacNab Christian, "Spanish Language", op cit., p. 282.

[20]Fred Schmidt, Report of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Los Angeles, quoted in New York Times, May 31, 1970, p. 60.

De Leon; an Irish colony formed by McMullin and McGloire; and empressario contracts issued to Burnet, Zavala and Vehlein.) The colonists, consisting of a dozen families, were living--if such existence could be called living--huddled together for security against the Karankawas, who, though not openly hostile, were not friendly. The rude log cabins . . . were absolutely devoid of comfort. DeWitt had at first established his headquarters at Gonzales, and the colonists had located their land in that vicinity, but the Indians stole their horses and otherwise annoyed them so much, notwithstanding the soldiers, that they abandoned the colony and moved down on the Lavaca, where they were simply staying . . . they made no pretense of improving it, not even to the extent of planting corn, one of the first things usually attended to, for the Texan. Indians unlike their eastern brethren, scorned to till the soil, and the few Mexicans scattered through the country did so only to the extent of supplying their own wants; so when the colonists used up the breadstuff they brought with them they had to do without until they raised it.[21]

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[21]Noah Smithwick, The Evolution of a State (Austin Texas: The Steck Company, 1835, p. 15.

But it was Austin's colony that was the most dynamic, and it was Austin that would react to and utilize the swiftly changing international/political/revolutionary realities in this low density area (Texas territory comprised 268,684 square miles) that still formed part of Spanish Mexico and was almost totally Mexican-Indian-Spanish in culture. On the land itself, slowly and persistently the Anglos colonized.

Land was offered to immigrants at a nominal price, on easy terms. Reports from Austin and others described the territory as rich, fertile and productive. The warm climate attracted some settlers. There was a self-selecting process which culled out, as new settlers, political dissenters, debtors, lawless adventurers, fugitives from justice. But the mass of Anglo colonists were not those who did not fit society's patterns, rather the economically marginal, the disappointed or the unfortunate elements in the United States.[22]

In 1822 Augustin de Iturbide, a Creole, was crowned Augustin I, emperor of Mexico. But it was a reign too brief to affect the colonists and he was deposed by a

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[22]Samuel H. Lowrie, Culture Conflict in Texas, 1821-1835, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 39-47.

revolt headed by Santa Anna a year later.

By 1824 Mexico had established a Federal Republic with Guadalupe Victoria as President. A confederacy of states, modeled loosely on the United States, was formed and among other changes Coahuila and Texas was made into a single state, under the jurisdiction of the Mexican Federal Constitution.

A slowly culminating drive by the Anglos for self-determination and domination over the affairs that affected their own lives, coupled with the new Coahuila-Texas state law that facilitated further colonization by the Anglos strengthened the colonies. Empressarios could now contract with the state government to settle a number of families on vacant lands in the state, obtaining five leagues and five labors for each one hundred families introduced.[23] The empressarios were, in fact, practically independent in the management of local colonial affairs. (Although a general oath of allegiance to the Mexican federal and state governments and the assumption of the responsibilities of Mexican citizenship was required of

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[23]The cost to the family head for land was approximately $30 a league. Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830" Southwestern Historical Review, XVI, No. 1 (1912), pp. 380, 381.

every male colonist.)[24]

As the colonies grew in size and prosperity the connections with Mexico became less dominant, less significant. Stephen Austin's colony, with 12,000 families became the predominant element in Texas and Austin assumed the role of leader.

The swelling population[25] of the Austin colony was located along the lower courses of the rivers between the Sabine and the Nueces and for the most part south and east of the Old San Antonio Road which connected Bejar with Nacodoches.[26]

In 1828 a Mexican Commission headed by Don Manuel Mier y Teran traversed the area. Teran could discern "smouldering fires" and forwarned his government at home.

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[24] Ibid.

[25] In 1834 Col. Juan Nepomuceno Almonte made a tour of inspection, he estimated the total population of Texas at 36,300 of whom 21,000 were whites and Negroes, 15,300 Indians. Texas at that time was divided into three departments, Bexar, Brazos and Nacogdoches. The population of Brazos, the central department, which included the prosperous colony of Austin, was estimated at 8000, of whom 1000 were Negroes, nominally only servants under the Mexican laws, but in reality slaves. Alfred M. Williams, Sam Houston and The War of Independence in Texas (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company 1893), pp. 55, 56.

[26] Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree," op. cit., p. 395.

> . . . As one covers the distance from Bejar to this town, he will note that Mexican influence is proportionately diminished until on arriving in this place he will see that it is almost nothing. And indeed whence could such influence come? Hardly from superior numbers in population, since the ratio of Mexicans to foreigners is one to ten; certainly not from the superior character of the Mexican population for exactly the opposite is true, the Mexicans of this town comprising what in all countries is called the lowest-class--the very poor and very ignorant. The naturalized North Americans in the town maintain an English school, and send their children north for further education; the poor Mexicans not only do not have sufficient means to establish schools, but they are not of the type that take any thought for the improvement of its public institutions or the betterment of its degraded condition.[27]

Potential difficulties did seeth around education and religion. Education, as a consideration had been part of all the formal relationships between the Mexican government and the colonizers: The early empressario contracts contained a provision requiring the establishment of schools with instruction in Spanish.[28] The new Constitituion of the State of Coahuila-Texas adopted March 11, 1827 provided that a state system of education be established and that the Roman Catholic Apostolic

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[27] Ibid., p. 394. The transcript of this letter bears no signature, but it seems certain that the author could have been no other than Teran.

[28] Texas, Contract with the Government of the State for the Colonization of Five Hundred Families, Article 8, April 27, 1825. H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas, 1822-1897, Vol I, p. 48.

religion was to be the religion of the state.

The Anglo colonists were Protestant; although they were not the most religious--restrictions implied in colonizing for a Catholic country had kept away the most zealous--nevertheless Austin[29] and others frequently reflected the anti-Catholic bias that was not uncommon in the east.[30]

The elementary schools supported by the Anglos were for the children of the colonists; they were Protestant in tone, morality and in the kind of values they expounded.

TABLE 1--School Statistics for San Felip de Austin

Date	Population	Children	Pupils	Schools	Source of Info.
1828	2021	424	51	3	Census, March 31, 1828
1830	4248	959	77	3	Census, June 30, 1830
1831	5565	1197	77	4	Census, June 30, 1831

Source: Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas (New York: Macmillan Co. 1925), p. 118.

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[29]Austin had written: "Rome--that mother of executioners, assassins, robbers and tyrants who have desolated the civilized world, filling it with mourning, terror and ruin, and degrading mankind far below the level of brutes." Stephen Austin "Prison Journal" Texas Historical Quarterly, Vol. II, p. 201.

[30]Samuel B. Morse articulated the fears of many Protestants in Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States originally printed in the New York Observer and then reprinted in 1835. "That solitary sect, the Catholic, which builds and supports its system on the destruction of all toleration. Yes, the Catholic is permitted to work in the

One of these schools was run by Thomas J. Pilgrim,[31] who reached Texas late in the year 1828, settled in San Felipe and set up school in 1829.

> . . . forty scholars, mostly boys, with expressive and intelligent countenances who were easily controlled, and some of whom gave indications of future greatness and usefulness. . . . I felt the necessity of moral and religious, as well as intellectual culture, and resolved to make an effort to found a Sunday-School.

Three weeks later, such a school was organized:

> A lecture was delivered each Sunday morning intended for both old and young; and to hear these lectures, people come from the distance of ten miles; . . .[32]

To Stephen Austin, the establishment of an institution of higher education was highly desirable and he sent a plan to congress that seemed, on the face of it, to encourage the

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light of Protestant toleration, to mature his plans, and to execute his designs to extinguish that light, and destroy the hands that hold it."

[31]Well known as an educator 48 years later, Thomas Pilgrim was to write a boy's book, Live Boys, under the pseudonym Arthur Morecamp. The book embodied those values that Pilgrim and other settlers mythified as "Texan": Two fourteen year old boys, Charley--an Anglo and Nasho--a Mexican kidnapped in infancy and brought up as an Indian, adventure and survive together learning independence, prowess, dexterity, courage and the skills of the Indians. (Notable for invisibility --any note of respect for Nasho's Mexican heritage.) Arthur Morecamp, Live Boys (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1879).

[32]Eby, Education, op. cit., p. 95.

dissemination and teaching of the national language (Spanish) among the Mexican and Anglo colonists. He wanted a

> . . . School of Modern Languages supported by means of voluntary contributions . . . under the protection of the government and the laws . . .[33]

The offer might well have been to placate a growing feeling of dissatisfaction among Mexican officials about the relationship of the colonists and local Mexican officials:

> It would cause you the same chagrin that it has caused me to see the opinion that is held of our nation by these foreign colonists, since, with the exception of some few who have journeyed to our capital they know no other Mexicans than the inhabitants about here . . .[34]

Much as serious conflict begins to develop in the twentieth century, trouble spots began to surface and provide constant local irritation:

> The colonists find it unendurable that they must go three leagues to lodge a complaint against the petty pickpocketing that they suffer from a venal and ignorant alcalde,[35] and the Mexicans with no knowledge of the laws of their own country, nor those regulating colonization, set themselves against these foreigners, deliberately setting nets to deprive them of the right of franchise and to exclude them from the ayuntamiento.[36]

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[33] Ibid., pp. 111, 112.

[34] Don Manuel Mier y Teran in Howren "Causes and Origins of the Decree of April 6, 1830", op. cit., p. 395.

[35] A mayor having judicial powers.

[36] Howren, op. cit., p. 395.

While at the same time, a political drama that was to drastically affect the colonists and the Mexicans, was being played out on larger more dramatic stages in Washington and Mexico. Andrew Jackson, a Democrat was elected the 7th President of the United States. Although all the connections were not manifest, this was to be significant to Sam Houston, a devotee of Jackson, and consequently this election was to directly affect the Texas settlers.

These latter, as they have ever been historically, were concerned at home base and were busy establishing themselves on lands that seemed to be vacant.

> . . . the first news of these comes by discovering them on land already under cultivation, where they have been located for many months; the old inhabitants set up a claim to the property, basing their titles of doubtful priority, and for which there are no records, on a law of the Spanish government; and thus arises a lawsuit in which the alcade has a chance to come out with some money.[37]

These new colonists were slaveholders. And again, new sparks were added to the already "smouldering fires." Slavery was one issue all Mexicans were united against. The state constitution of Coahuila-Texas decreed that no further introduction of slaves could take place but the

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[37] Ibid., pp. 395, 396.

settlers evaded the issue by utilizing a law passed in 1828 recognizing the legality of contracts made between master and servant prior to arrival in Texas.[38] In 1830 Vicente Guerrero, issued a new decree abolishing slavery from the Mexican Republic. The colonists felt that the purpose of the decree was to discourage American immigration. This became more clear in April when the Mexican Republic decreed that no more colonists should be admitted from the United States into the Texas area and that customs duties should be collected along the Louisiana frontier.

Seething with resentment, the Texans organized a convention at which they asked for (and were denied) the repeal of the Law of 1830 and separation from the state of Coahuila.

Austin, on the 2nd of Oct. 1833 wrote to the Municipal Council of Bexar, recommending that all of the districts in Texas should unite and organize a state. Austin was intercepted at Saltillo, Mexico and arrested--taken back to Mexico City and imprisoned in one of the dungeons of the old Inquisition. On May 13, 1834 Santa Anna reappeared and had Austin released from prison but

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[38]Ibid., p. 387.

held him. On Sept. 3 Stephen Austin returned to Texas after more than two years' detention in Mexico. On Sept. 13, a circular issued by Austin recommended the organization and equipment of military companies. It concluded with the words "War is our only resource. There is no other remedy. We must defend our rights, ourselves, and our country by force of arms."[39]

But the opposition did not stop concerted attempts to continue heavy American immigration into the area:

> It is very evident that the best interests of the United States require that Texas should be effectually, and fully, Americanized--that is--settled by a population that will harmonize with their neighbors on the East in language, political principles, common origin, sympathy, and even interest. Texas must be a slave country. It is no longer a matter of doubt . . . Being fully Americanized under the Mexican flag, would be the same thing in effect, and ultimate result, as coming under the United States flag. A gentle breeze shakes off a ripe peach. Can it be supposed that the violent political convulsion of Mexico will not shake off Texas so soon as it is ripe enough to fall. All that is now wanting is a great immigration of good and efficient families, this fall and winter. Should we get such an emigration,--all is done--the peach will be ripe--[40]

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[39]Alfred M. Williams, Sam Houston and The War of Independence in Texas (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1893), pp. 86-94.

[40]A letter from Stephen Austin to Mrs. Mary Austin Holley, New Orleans, August 21, 1835. The Austin Papers, ed. by Eugene C. Barker, Vol. I (Austin: University of Texas Press), pp. 101, 102.

The Mexicans had set their course and Santa Anna who had assumed dictatorial powers, sent an army to collect the customs. This army reported impotence:

> . . . Given the slightest opportunity, they returned to their aggressions throwing insults at our customs employees and even fighting the small detachments which protect them.
>
> To the Texas colonists, the word Mexican is and has been an execrable word. There has been no insult or violation that our countrymen have not suffered, including being jailed as "foreigners" in their own country.
>
> The Texas colonies have been considered, for a long time, as general quarters for the enemies of the nation; where all the bums and adventurers from the whole world have been gathered to revolt against the generous nation which has tolerated their insolence.[41]

Santa Anna took over himself, marching northward from Mexico with 3,000 men on a journey that was to end in that historic and bloody confrontation, the Alamo. William Barrett Travis, held the Alamo with one hundred and fifty Texans. He refused to surrender and after a two-week seige, the Alamo was stormed and its defenders slaughtered.

A few days earlier, March 2, 1836 a draft of a Declaration of Texas Independence was produced at a convention at Washington-on-the-Brazos, two hundred miles

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[41]Dispatch, October 31, 1835 from President Barragon, quoted in General Miguel A Sanchez Lamego, The Siege and Taking of the Alamo (Santa Fe, New Mexico: The Blue Feather Press), p. 14.

east of San Antonio. Justification for this legal declaration of independence included sections involving education and religion.

> . . . it is an axiom, in political science, that unless a people are educated and enlightened it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty, or the capacity for self-government
>
> It denies us the right of worshipping the Almighty according to the dictates of our conscience; by the support of a national religion calculated to promote the temporal interests of its human functionaries rather than the glory of the true and living God.[42]

The Mexicans' perception of the revolt assumed the Texas settlers were part of the United States--

> To wish, to wait, and to act describe the distinctive character of the government and the people of the United States. No nation in the civilized world can equal them in their boundless ambition . . .
> . . . If they proclaim or sustain the august rights of liberty and independence, it is not because of the noble sympathy felt for a just and sacred cause; rather it is out of regard for their interests, it is their own improvement which they seek with indefatigable zeal.[43]

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[42]"The Texas Declaration of Independence," Archives Division, Texas State Library.

[43]Jose Maria Tornel y Mendivil, "Relations Between Texas, the United States of America and the Mexican Republic" The Mexican Side of the Texan Revolution (Dallas, Texas: P. L. Turner Company, 1928), pp. 295, 296.

The Texan's Revolutionary Army selected Sam Houston as its military leader. He at once left for Gonzales, Texas, where the news of the fall of the Alamo awaited him. Thus, instead of his making his planned advance, Houston, under opposing pressures from the ad interim government and insubordinate irregulars, began a famous retreat, which, as it continued, caused panic among the settlers, who expecting no protection from the advancing Mexican army, fled eastward destroying what they could not carry.

This six week long retreat gradually converged towards the coast and finally came to a halt at Harrisburg, at the mouth of the San Jacinto River, not far from the eastern border of the settlements.[44] For twenty-four hours Sam Houston's army and Santa Anna's faced each other across a stretch of prairie. Then on April 21, with a shout of "Remember the Alamo!" the Texans stormed the breastworks and slaughtered six hundred of the Mexicans.[45] In thirty minutes of actual fighting the war was ended: the entire

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[44]William C. Binkley, ed., Official Correspondence of the Texan-Revolution (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), pp. xxx, xxxi.

[45]Parkes, History, op. cit., pp. 202, 203.

advanced[46] division of the Mexican Army was killed or captured and Santa Anna and his second in command Colonel Almonte were captured. To the Texans this successful battle, the end of the war, signaled the advent of independence, and they immediately packed up and departed for home.

But a war is not just a war. The battle of San Jacinto ended the <u>real</u> war, but not the mythical war, the "historical" war that was to be imprinted, seemingly forever,[47] on the hearts and minds of the children of

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[46]The remaining divisions of the Mexican army were ordered by Santa Anna to withdraw to Victoria and San Antonio.

[47]Jose Vasconcelos, a famous Mexican educator, remembered these mythified wars in his autobiography: "The independence of Texas and the war of 1847 divided the class into rival camps. We Mexicans in the class were not numerous, but we stood our ground. When I say Mexicans, I include the many who lived in Texas, and whose fathers had become naturalized, but who made common cause with us because of their descent. And if they had not, it would have turned out just the same, since the Yankees put us all in the same category. When it was said in class that a hundred Yankees could put to flight a thousand Mexicans, I got up and said "That isn't so!" And it made me still more angry if some pupil compared the customs of the Mexicans to those of the Eskimos, and said, "Mexicans are a semi-civilized people!"

"At our house, on the other hand, we believed that Yankees had just recently acquired culture. I would get up to argue, "We had printing before you did." And the teacher would chime in, "Yes, look at Joe: He's a Mexican. Isn't he civilized? Isn't he a gentleman? . . .

Texas. That is, two groups of children, the children of the Anglos--the conquerors and the children of the Mexicans--the conquered.

Within forty years the revolt of the Texans, the Battle of the Alamo and other battles with the Mexicans would be described, permanized this way:

> The prosperity of these settlers awakened the jealousy of the Mexicans and an unjust and oppressive policy was pursued towards them. Their remonstrances being disregarded, they declared their independence of Mexico, and made ready to support it by force of arms. Volunteers from America hastened to their aid. In 1835, the revolution began with the battle of Gonzales in which 1,000 Mexicans were defeated by 500 Texans. Goliad, and the strong citadel of Bexar known as the Alamo were soon after taken and the whole Mexican army was dispersed. On the 6th of March, 1836, however, Santa Anna, having raised a new force of 8,000 men, attacked the Alamo, which had been left in charge of a small but gallant

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worst of it. My opponent beat me methodically. Next day, at lunch time, while I was brooding over my defeat of the previous day, a Mexican fellow-student, one of those born and brought up beside the river, came up. "Here, take this," he said, handing me a sharp razor. "I'm lending it to you. These gringos are afraid of the blade. Keep it for this afternoon.

When we came out of school, my foe took up a position in front of his gang. I came closer with my friends. I made him a sign inviting him to fight and at the same time showed him the open blade in my right hand. "Not that way," said Jim, "the way we did yesterday." "No, not like yesterday," I said, "like this." My Mexican friend told me, "Now these gringos won't bother you." It was lucky that I managed to make myself respected in this way, for I loved the classes." Jose Vasconcelos, A Mexican Ulysses (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), pp. 25, 26.

> garrison. All night they fought but superior numbers triumphed. Every man fell at his post but seven, and these were killed while asking quarter.[48]

Another popular public school textbook described the Battle of Mier (which the Mexican's won) in this manner:

> . . . at this point, where Mexican valor failed, Mexican trickery succeeded . . . they indicated that a reinforcement of eight hundred fresh men were expected every moment; that the general admired the bravery of the Texans and wished to save them from the certain destruction . . . It seems strange that the Texans had not learned by this time never to trust the Mexicans, promises or no promises . . .[49]

A few pages later, the same textbook:

> Before beginning an offensive campaign against Mexico the Texas authorities resolved to make an appeal to the great powers of the world . . . Texas did not complain of the war in itself, but she did protest against the cruel and inhuman method of warfare that Mexico used; she showed that Santa Anna had violated the law of nations and that Mexico had acted in so barbarous a manner as to rank her among savage rather than Christian nations.[50]

This material, repetitive, learned without question in early school years, could only have formed permanent sets--

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[48] Illustrated School History of the United States of America, G. P. Quackenbow, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879), p. 421.

[49] Anna J. H. Pennybacker, A New History of Texas for Schools (Palestine, Texas: The Palestine Publishing Co., 1895) Revised Ed., p. 229.

[50] Ibid., p. 233.

for both kinds of children, those of the Anglos and those of the Mexicans. This would be an example also of the school's acculturative impress on the Mexican American child.

To penetrate this learned attitude is a formidable task. Although objective research in the history of the southwest could be of some help in correcting the facts--the ethnocentric screening of the Anglo's and the uncertain images, reactions, goals of the Mexican-Americans would mean that this is but one possible step. (Perhaps the most simple.) In the 1830's as in our own time, a day to day history, and editorial attitudes were also formed by the newspapers.

> The Mexican nation is at this time the most servile and contemptible people on the face of the earth . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> No--Texas disdains to be governed by such a craven nation, and the Anglo-Saxon steel will convince the tyrant that though he may enforce his mandates among his own servile slaves, that in the abodes of North Americans, he cannot succeed! A herd of sheep might as well attempt to drive the lion from his den, as Mexicans to establish their power among the free born citizens of the North.
>
> A force of 2,500 brave men is enough to subjugate and hold in slavery the whole craven nation![51]

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[51] The Herald, New York, Dec. 27, 1836, p. 1.

Santa Anna made good newspaper copy:

> Since the recent attempt to steal Santa Anna, the Texans have used every precaution to prevent the recurrence of a similar occurrence, both to himself and Almonte, both of whom are now in irons. Santa Anna endeavored to destroy himself by taking a large dose of opium, which produced only great nauseau.[52]

There was also a continuing appeal for immigration (this from New York) into Texas.

> A splended vessel completely repaired and in fine order will leave this port about the end of the month for Texas. . . a few more Emigrants can be accomodate[d] for further information apply at No. 21 Ann Street, 2nd door below Nassau St.[53]

While the new republic of Texas attempted to survive internal and external strife, there was, for the next nine years a gradual building up of pressure on the United States government to become involved. There were indications that the new nation was bankrupt, would fall into English hands, had no credit, was without law.[54]

That there was truth in all these rumors no one in Washington doubted--but Texas as a new slave state, with borders that needed both policing and protecting--whose

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[52]Ibid., New York, Oct. 4, 1836, p. 2.

[53]Ibid., New York, Oct. 5, 1836, p. 3.

[54]The Herald, Oct. 8, 1836, p. 1.

acquisition might mean war with Mexico--was not yet the totally appealing piece of property that it was later to become.

Thus the Texas rite of passage from Mexican colony to Mexican state to independent republic was transversed by the Texans in approximately 15 years--by successful revolution.[55] But the next step, annexation by the United States which had been a foregone conclusion (the first proposal for annexation of Texas was submitted and passed during the first election in Texas, in September 1836 but antislavery forces in the United States put down the bid) had to be negotiated through the administrations of Van Buren (he feared war with Mexico), Harrison and Tyler, and it was finally in Polk's administration, nine years later that annexation took place.[56]

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[55]Not all the revolutionary army was Texan. Volunteers came from all parts of the United States and by the end of the summer of 1836 it was estimated that about two thousand independent, volatile and troublesome men were in service and kept from disbanding because of fear and the continuing threat of re-invasion. William C. Binkley, ed., Official Correspondence, op. cit., p. xxxii.

[56]Tyler, wanting Texas to be his presidency's claim to fame, planned a joint resolution by Congress authorizing him to offer annexation, this was presented to the Texan Republic March 3, a few hours before the close of his administration. (James Knox Polk had been elected President.) The Texas Congress, in special session, voted for acceptance of the proposal a state constitution was drawn up and on December 20, 1845, the legal date of annexation, the Congress of the United States accepted the new Texas State Constitution.

Actually annexation might never have occurred but for the intrigues of Britain's Foreign Secretary Aberdeen and the American backlash when the maneuvers of Britain--designed to keep Texas an independent buffer state in the Western Hemisphere--were revealed. Using abolition efforts[57] as an open diplomatic cover, Aberdeen attempted to bind France, Britain and Mexico to recognition of Texas' independence while continuing to refuse to support Mexico's war efforts. But both Mexico and Britain failed in their attempts to restrict United States' territorial expansion.

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[57]"An Act for Carrying into Effect the Treaty between Her Majesty and the Republic of Texas for the Suppression of the African Slave Trade" was passed by Parliament in April 11, 1843. George Pierce Garrison, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, Part II, Part III, American Historical Association, 1908 (Washington: Government Printing Office 1911), Vol. II (1), p. 1143.

CHAPTER III

ONE GROUP INVISIBLE

At this point in the study, it becomes necessary to weave separate strands of evidence together. There was an official[1] interest in education in Texas from its very burgeoning. As a colony of Mexico, its leaders made efforts to provide rudimentary and higher education for children and young men. The thinking and philosophy of the 2nd President of the young republic, President Mirabeau B. Lamar, provided a substantial foundation for an education system.[2] A section

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[1]There is also abundant evidence that Texan interest in education was not widespread and that many put survival skills for the southwestern frontier on a higher priority list for their children, than formal learning.

[2]Lamar's first message to Congress, Dec. 20, 1838, called for action in education: A suitable appropriation of lands to the purpose of general education. Jan. 26, 1839 a law was passed providing three leagues of land in each county for the purpose of establishing a primary school or academy. Six weeks later a plan of organization for a complete system of schools was presented. A new law was passed in Feb. 1840 providing for a board of school commissioners, empowered to divide the counties into school districts, to examine candidates for teachers' certificates, and to inspect and supervise the schools, in effect, initiating a system of public education. (A system, at this time, was understood to mean that the state, from out of its unsettled domain, should gratuitously make provision for the establishment

on education was written into the first state constitution for Texas.[3] Shortly after, the Convention of the Friends of Education, a professionally oriented group, met in Houston to form a board to examine teachers, to recommend a uniform series of texts for the new state and to establish the Texas Literary Institute, the earliest organization of educators in the state.[4]

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an equipment of schools. The maintenance and control of the schools devolved upon the parents.)

The laws of 1839-1840 recognized that the state could assist all grades of instruction, elementary, secondary and higher. The word "free" as related to education was not used in regard to the schools. These efforts failed. The laws remained, "paper laws". There is no evidence that any county used its land for the establishment of schools at this period. Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), pp. 87-92.

[3]"The Constitution of the State of Texas," adopted unanimously in convention, at the City of Austin, 1845, provided that the "Legislature of this State . . . make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools."

Section 2 provided for the establishment of free schools supported by taxation on property, with one-tenth of the annual revenue of the State as a perpetual fund. Texas, Constitution of the State of Texas (Houston: Printed at the Telegraph Office 1845), p. 23.

Note: Although "indian, Africans and descendants of Africans" were especially noted to be free of taxation and not enumerated for representation, no special mention was made of Mexicans in this first state constitution.

[4]Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 101.

But it is also quite clear from the evidence, that whatever real interest there was in public education did not include the Mexican Americans. This lack of special concern with the Mexican in Texas was not yet the assimilative rationale that was to affect minorities in the 1900's, it was rather a cloak of invisibility. A case has been made that this local invisibility was only a part of the more widespread racism basic to the thinking of Americans (and one cause of the Mexican American War), producing a kind of blindness to human needs, possibility of pride, deep feeling and resistance of people Americans consider inferior.

The relationship of the Mexicans and the Anglos had developed its basic characteristics before Texas became an integral part of the United States. That is, a pattern of denigrating of Mexican ways and culture, the feeling of superiority to the Mexican people in general had been common to the thinking of those that came from the East and South as Colonists.[5]

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[5]"Intelligence is the only true aristocracy in a government like ours: . . . our separation from Mexico, and consequent revolution, is to be attributed, in great degree, to the difference between the Texians and the Mexicans, in their mental culture and improvement, and consequent powers and superiority . . ." quoted in Journal of the House, Regular Session of the Third Congress, 270-278, p. 155.

In the beginning, however, as Mexicans and Anglos worked and fought together a kind of annoyance and irritation and lack of trust seemed the significant part of the social fabric.[6] (See Chapter II)

Later, after the Anglos engineered their successful revolution took over the land and the dominant structure of government from the Mexicans, and the two groups separated, the phenomenon of institutional invisibility occurred.

The takeover of land involved actual change of ownership. In 1845 a series of forfeiture Acts stripped Mexican land owners of their property and the Ninth Congress of the Republic of Texas made many of these lands--

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[6]A teacher, Mrs. Mary S. Helm, writing about her experiences at Matagorda Pass, 1829 through 1831: ". . . the modern Mexicans are, as it were, the debris of several inferior and degraded races; African and Indian crossed and mixed and even the old Spanish blood was mixed with the Moorish and demoralized by a long course of indolence and political corruption; both physically and mentally they are the very anti-thesis of the Anglo-American.

They are as weak as he is strong; they run where he fights; they starve in the midst of abundance, while he knows how to pluck wealth and prosperity from rocks and sterile places . . ." Mrs. Mary S. Helm, Scraps of Early Texas History (Austin, Texas: Printed for the author at the Office of B. R. Warner & Co. 1884), pp. 52, 53.

abandoned and desolate--available for claims.[7]

There were a few voices raised against this injustice:

> Mexicans had turned out cattle and sacrificed everything and others had fought in the rank and file of the revolutionary army--and many who had joined the enemy were forced to do so . . . we were obliged to drive them away, giving them the choice of places to which to remove . . . a great many were killed.
>
> In truth, the whole western frontier presented in 1835, a flourishing population, which was not then against us; all were in favor of civil liberty and religious toleration. What does the frontier present now? A scene of desolation, distress and degradation brought about by war. And would it be chivalrous and generous in us to take advantage now of our power, and take away those lands, even supposing that they had been thus forfeited?[8]

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[7]Jan. 22, 1845: An Act granted settlers on vacant public domain preemption privileges. Settlers were not compelled to furnish the surveyor with any land certificate, but merely take an oath administered by the surveyor indicating he believed the land vacant. Laws passed by the Ninth Congress of the Republic of Texas. Washington: 1845 (Miller & Cushney, Public Printers).

[8]J. J. Rusk speaking against the forfeiture clause directed against Mexicans in debate. Sister McGrath, M. A. Political Nativism in Texas, 1825-1860 (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1930), p. 59.

Another writer, witness to this border-land devastation: "Much of the country bordering this river is of surpassing fertility, and has formerly been under a high state of cultivation; but almost everything now wears the appearance of dilapidation and decay . . . squalid poverty, sickness and want now stalk abroad in the land. This melancholy change had its origin in the warfare that severed Texas from the parent stock; many of the inhabitants having at that time abandoned their homes, being conscientiously opposed to the prevalent measures, and the property became a prey to the

This classic action of conquerors, perceived by few Anglos as an injustice, antagonized a few Mexicans, some of whom were citizens from the earliest settlements[9] and fully entitled to retain the land thus lost to them.

Inexorably, land hunger prevailed. Sheer survival for those who had won, it was felt, was difficult enough, justice or education for those who had been recently perceived as "the enemy" never became a concern for the Texians.[10]

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new government and is mostly yet unoccupied . . ." Edward Stiff, A New History of Texas (Cincinnati, Ohio: George Conclin, 1847), p. 28.

[9]A counting of the Spanish surnamed population from the first census of the citizens of Texas' lists in 1829 indicates 163 Mexican families, 41 single persons. In 1834 a record of voters in the Municipality of San Augustine gives 18 Mexican voters, and the certificates of sponsored entrance into Texas in 1835 adds another 13 Mexican surnamed persons. This census itself was fragmentary. Census of Texas 1829-1836 compiled by Marion Day Mullins (Fort Worth, Texas: National Genealogical Society, N. 22 Washington, D. C. 1859).

[10]". . . the inhabitants of Texas, literate and illiterate, have almost universally accepted the term, Texian, to define their political individuality . . . Texian . . . has more euphony and is better adapted to the convenience of the poets who shall hereafter celebrate our deeds in sonorous strains than the harsh, abrupt, ungainly appellation, Texan, impossible in rhyme to anything but the merest doggerel." From the Texas Almanac of 1858 as quoted in the Texas Almanac of 1943-1944 to explain an early preference for Texian and to note a revival of the use since the Texas Centennial in 1936. Texas Almanac 1943-1944 (Dallas, Texas: Dallas Morning News), p. 48.

In this war-devastated environment, constantly under the threat of further attack, their children did not always get the kind of attention or the kind of schooling that might, under other circumstances be considered adequate, even for this period; the Mexican American child was given no consideration.

Texas was included in the Seventh Census of the United States in 1850. The statistics below, abstracted from the schedules, throw some light on the educational scene.

TABLE 1--Profile of White Scholastics 1850

Native White		Foreign White	
5--15	% in School	5--15	% in School
40,962	45.82	2,466	24.37

Source: U. S. Superintendent of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census 1850, (Washington: Senate Printer, 1854), p. 150.

TABLE 2--Education in Texas 1850

		Teachers	Pupils	Expenditure*
Public Schools	349	360	7,946	44,088
Colleges[11]	2	7	165	Total Income 1,000
Academies and Private Schools	97	137	3,389	Total Income 39,384

Source: U. S. Superintendent of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census 1850 (Washington: Senate Printer, 1854), p. 150.

*The total education expenditure was returned at $178,411.

The total white population was given as 154,031 of this number 135,958 were classified as "Native White" 17,620 as "Foreign White"; the proportion of white to the total population was set at 72.45 in this census. There was no separate count of the number of Mexican Americans in the

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[11]Up to 1848 charters were issued by the legislature for eight universities, seven colleges, ten academies and four institutes. Many remained on paper. One that didn't was the University of San Augustine issued a grant in 1839, opened in September 5, 1842 with one member of the faculty, a Lancasterian methodology, and a curriculum that included laboratory work, political economy, botany and geology in addition to Latin, Greek, history, rhetoric and logic. The institution became the center of a religious-sectarian feud that ended in the assassination of its second president, Rev. James Russell and its demise in 1847. Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas (New York: Macmillan Co. 1925), pp. 94-98.

Texas population.[12]

At the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848, the Mexican population had been estimated at 5,000, in response to the provisions of the treaty, 2,000 Mexicans had emigrated.[13] Thus, the number of Mexican Americans in the population has been estimated at 3,000.

With 12.57 per cent of the whites at school, Texas ranked 28th in a field of 32 states in 1850.[14]

These figures leave out a great deal: They do not show those Texans who employed private tutors or sent their children back to the north or south to schools which sought their patronage. They reveal nothing about the Mexican American child. Were Mexican children calculated under the statistics for Whites, Native Born or White, Foreign Born? This group remains non visible--lost--in the institutional statistics.

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[12]U. S. Superintendent of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census 1850, (Washington: Senate Printer, 1854), p. 150.

[13]Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848, ed. by George P. Hammond (Berkeley: The Friends of the Bancroft Library), p. 14.

[14]Seventh Census, op. cit., p. 150.

The statistics reveal, however, that more than half of the Anglo school-aged children were not in school. With this as a norm, then, Mexican American children would be expected to get even less formal schooling. This is not to say that there weren't individuals interested in the education of the Mexican child--but these were largely missionaries or seminarians interested in either maintaining the substantial Catholic minority or in converting these children to Protestantism. Typical of the kind of educational interest that the Mexican child was subject to was Melinda Rankin's successful Protestant mission:

> I left Jefferson, eastern Texas . . . and went to New Orleans to take passage on a vessel for Brazos Santiago near the mouth of the Rio Grande River. I purposed going to Brownsville, . . . opposite Matamoras,[15] Mexico . . . A new sensation seized me when I saw for the first time, a Mexican . . . I did not feel, as many others have expressed, that the sight of a Mexican was enough to disgust one with the whole nation . . . . . I opened the school with five pupils, but more promised. The education of the

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[15]"Matamoras . This town is situated on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 30 miles above the mouth; contains a population of some 8,000 mostly Mexicans, who are not remarkable for their honest or industrious habits, and are in the aggregate an ignorant and illiterate set of beings . . . The Catholic is the prevailing religion here, and the rising generation are taught in schools connected with the church . . ." Edward Stiff, A New History of Texas (Cincinnati: Ohio, George Conclin, 1847), p. 23.

> children seemed the most feasible means of benefitting the people at that time . . . I was truly happy in a short time in obtaining some thirty or forty Mexican children, and giving them daily instruction in the Bible, against which the parents manifested no objection. I found some who could read in the Spanish language, and a few who had acquired some knowledge of English. The parents were greatly desirous their children should learn the English language and become Americanized. . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . I was encouraged in finding the Mexican children susceptible of moral and mental improvement. Many of them I found addicted to the vices peculiar to their race; but, by proper instruction, I soon observed a very decided change.[16]

Seeking funds to build a more substantial Protestant seminary in an effort to bring back Mexican pupils newly enrolled in a handsome new convent in the center of town, Miss Rankin was blocked by articulated prejudices:

> "The Mexicans were a people fit to be exterminated from the earth."
>
> "We had better send bullets and gun powder to Mexico than Bibles."[17]

The bitterest critics assailed the possibility of improvement for the Mexicans: "What can you do for such a hopeless race?" Miss Rankin was determined to "Give them

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[16]Melinda Rankin, Twenty Years Among the Mexicans (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, Publishers, 1875), pp. 34-41.

[17]Ibid., p. 51.

the Gospel, which is the antidote for all moral evils. The extreme degradation in which we find them is for the want of ameliorating influence of Bible Christianity."[18]

At about this same period in Texas history pre and post annexation and during the Mexican American War, those Anglo children that were able to go to schools were getting a different set of experiences from which the heavy hand of "moral improvement" seemed to be absent:

> The first school that was taught in the county was in a little cedar log house about 14 feet square with a dirt floor and split log benches. . . . That school was taught in May and June 1846. There were only about fourteen scholars . . . the next year 1847 the people got together and built a log school house especially for school purposes . . . the second teacher was Stroud Melton. He was crippled in one of his legs. He sorter hopped as he walked. He sure was a good teacher. The children all liked him. The school was going on when Christmas came, so we got after him to treat us to a Christmas present. The presents those days would be striped candy. So he would not agree to treat us . . . we barred the door of the house . . . so when he came back we had shut him out . . . he climbed up one of those sapplings and some of the boys said "Go get the axe." We got the axe and we commenced to chop on the one he was up and when we would get that one cut down he would swing over and get on another one. So we kept cutting on sapplings until he gave up and says, "Boys, you can duck me, come on you Jim Phifer and Elisha Anglin, one on each side now you must do a good job, boys." So down they went into the pool. He ducked those boys good and proper. But he sent and got the candy the next day.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 57, 58, 59.

> The people liked him as a teacher so they kept him for another term. The old blue-backed spelling book was our main book those days. Frank Jackson and I memorized that book from beginning to end and we used to have spelling matches and I would be on one side and Frank would be on the other. I remember one time we had a spelling match and the whole school was spelled down and then Frank and I had it. The teacher skipped all about over the book to try to catch us but we never missed a word.[19]

Here, in the 1840's in Texas we have evidence of two significantly different kinds of educational experiences: Miss Rankin's efforts with the Mexican children might be termed unusually early assimilative attempts; she was trying to turn Catholic children into Protestants--with a Protestant value system. (To turn "bad" Catholic children into "good" English speaking Protestant children). The Anglo children, at the same time, were being taught--in what modern educators might call the "unstructured curriculum"--aggression, independence, self-worth. This kind of dual approach to education persists in the Southwest.[20]

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[19]Hampton Steele, A History of Limestone County Texas, 1833-1860 (Mexia, Texas: The News Publishing Company, 1925), pp. 15, 16.

[20]There is the continuing assumption that the Mexican American child needs moral "uplift" this takes the form of "extraordinary emphasis on what can best be thought of as 'civic' responsibilities' and 'personal hygiene' or 'citizenship'" . . . the intensity becomes exaggerated at the junior and senior high-school level. . . ." Arthur J. Rubel, Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin and London: Hogg Foundations for Mental Health, University of Texas Press, 1966), p. 10-11.

Aside from the avant garde assimilative rationale, however, both approaches to schooling were typical of education in Texas at this time. Education was interwoven with religion. Many of the early teachers were Christian ministers and the schooling, such as it was, frequently took place in the same building that served as a church. There was no class, text or teacher uniformity: Teachers taught what they could. The children worked in the fields or on the ranches and attended schools when work was slack, generally during the winter months.

There was little actual "organized" input, efforts were individual and the results were scattered: Some schools got built, some teachers were hired and some children received an education. (It has been estimated that about one child in seven of school age, was in school at this time.)[21]

Many Texans preferred this kind of independence; as the frame of reference toward education began to change

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No such attempt is made with the Anglo child. "Controlled by Anglos, the curricula reflects Anglo culture and the language of instruction is English." United States Commission on Civil Rights, The Excluded Student (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, May 1972), p. 11.

[21]Eby, Development, pp. 102-106.

in the brief period of peace following the Mexican American War, this bloc formed in opposition to a "common-school" bloc made up of German immigrants and Northern settlers. [No voice, however, can be discerned speaking for the Mexican children--in either case.]

Focusing in on education makes it loom larger than reality warrants: First priority, at this time--1845, in this place--the Texas borderlands, was war. This period in United States history is usually subsumed under the euphemistic headings "Manifest Destiny" or "The Age of Expansion." The scope of the most territorially ambitious included all of the western part of the continent, from sea to shining sea and Mexico too, if it could be absolutely determined that it was worth governing the Mexicans.[22]

Once Texas was actually annexed, Dec. 20, 1845, adding 318,000 square miles to the United States,[23] war broke out at that border which had been in dispute all along, a strip of territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande claimed by both Texas and Mexico.

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[22]Glenn W. Price, Origins of the War with Mexico (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1967), p. 15-17.

[23]U. S. Superintendent of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census 1850 (Washington: Senate Printer 1845), p. 32.

There was the unsettled question of just who the aggressor was. President Polk claimed that American blood had been shed on American soil--many, including Abraham Lincoln, disputed this claim on the tenet that the soil--in question--was Mexican.[24] Although the villain in this newest conflagration might well have been the United States, it was clear shortly after the onset, that the looser would only be Mexico.[25]

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[24]"The President, in his first war message of May 1846, declares that the soil was ours on which hostilities were commenced by Mexico; and he repeats that declaration, almost in the same language, in each successive annual message . . . it is the very point, upon which he should be justified or condemned . . . title--ownership--to soil, or anything else, is not a simple fact; but a conclusion following one or more simple facts and that it was incumbent upon him, to present the facts, from which he concluded, the soil was ours, on which the first blood of the war was shed. . . . . . issue and evidence--is, from beginning to end, the sheerest deception. . . . . . My understanding of the true rule for ascertaining the boundary between Texas and Mexico. It is wherever Texas was exercising jurisdiction was hers; and wherever Mexico was exercising jurisdiction was hers; and that whatever separated the actual exercise of jurisdiction of the one, from that of the other, was the true boundary between them. . . . . The war has gone on some twenty months, for the expenses of which . . . the President now claims about one half of the Mexican territory; and that, by far the better half, . . ." Abraham Lincoln, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Vol. I, 1824-1848, ed. by Roy P. Basler (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), pp. 433-440.

[25]Mexico was to lose 522,955 square miles.

The beginnings of the Mexican American War was an historical embarrassment for the United States both in Washington and on the battlefield. President Polk, in Washington, and a Capt. Thornton, assigned to the front on the southeast coastline of Texas, walked into well laid Mexican traps: The President who had been promised a sell-out by Santa Anna if he was assisted in his return to power, allowed Santa Anna to run the American blockade at the Mexican gulf ports[26] and was thus out-maneuvered by the Mexican war leader.

On the Rio Grande, 24 miles north of the base at Point Isabel, an entire American command marched into a chaparral enclosed farmyard and were forced to surrender to 2,500 Mexicans surrounding them.[27]

But the United States lost only the opening round of the war. The critical battles were won at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey; the American army occupied Buena Vista, seven miles south of Saltillo, in February of 1847. Vera Cruz was captured by March 29, 1847.[28] It was

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[26]Glenn W. Price, Origins of the War with Mexico (Austin, London: University of Texas Press, 1967), p. 87.

[27]Edward Stiff, War With Mexico (Cincinnati, Ohio: George Conclin 1847), pp. 35-37.

[28]Ibid., p. 43.

clear that this War had been won by the United States. In December of 1847 President James Knox Polk proclaimed that victory and outlined his plans for accession of territory--indicating a mandate from congress--an appropriation of 3 million dollars--for that purpose:

> It is well known that the only indemnity which it is in the power of Mexico to make. . . . . is accession to the United States of a portion of her territory. . . . . The commissioner of the United States was authorized to agree to the establishment of the Rio Grande as the boundary, from its entrance into the Gulf to its intersection with the southern boundary of New Mexico . . . and to obtain accession to the United States of the provinces of New Mexico and the Californias, and the privilege of the straight away across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The boundary of the Rio Grande, and the cession of the United States of New Mexico and Upper California, constituted an ultimatum which our Commissioner was, under no circumstances, to yield.[29]

Mexican officials felt that the acquisition of territory was the motive for the war and "the question of Texas was a cover to ulterior designs, which now stand disclosed."[30] Nevertheless, these boundaries and the

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[29]U. S. Congress, Senate. Message From the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress. 30 Congress 1st sess. Dec. 7, 1847 Washington: Printed by Wendell and Van Benthuysen, pp. 4, 7, 8, 9.

[30]Ibid., p. 37. Documents Accompanying Presidential Message, From Palace of the Federal Government of Mexico. Feb. 22, 1847.

cession of New Mexico and California were acceded to by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848.

The Mexican people instead of being grateful for having all this land taken off their hands, proved to be disgruntled. President Santa Anna was forced to flee, an interim President's term ended just before the debate on the treaty, but Pres. Manuel de la Pena y Pena became President and was able to reach substantial agreement with the United States by Jan. 25, 1848.

Presidential politics absorbed the energies of much of the Senate. Others, westerners and southerners, were dismayed at the treaty. There was mounting demand for the seizure of all, or at least more of Mexico.[31] There was a proposal from Senator Sam Houston "which would have required the cessation of Lower California and have drawn the boundary eastward from the tip of that peninsula so as to include San Luis Potosi and Tampico . . ."[32] Opposition to the acquisition of any Mexican territory rose from anti-expansionist elements in New England. Nevertheless on Friday, March 10, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was ratified.

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[31]The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848, op. cit., p. 14.

[32]Ibid., p. 16.

Attorney General Nathan Clifford and Senator Sevier of Arkansas were sent off to Queretaro, the seat of the Mexican government; there they were feted by officials and stoned by the people shouting "Viva la Guerra! Abajo la Paz!"[33]

When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed, approximately 75,000 Spanish-speaking people were living in the Southwest: about 7,500 in California, approximately one thousand in Arizona; 60,000 in New Mexico and an estimated 5,000 in Texas.

The treaty reads like a Bill of Rights for those conquered Mexicans who selected to remain in the territory that was now part of the United States:

All Mexican citizens residing within the ceded domain were to become citizens of the United States if they did not leave the territory within one year after ratification.[34] All had the option of remaining

> . . . or to remove at any time to the Mexican republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories, or disposing thereof, and removing the proceeds wherever they please, without their being subjected,

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[33] Ibid., p. 19.

[34] Ibid., p. 17.

> on this account, to any contribution, tax or charge whatever.[35]

About 2,000 Mexicans emigrated, accepting the Mexican offer of resettlement and land grants. For these emigrees Article VIII of the treaty provided protection:

> . . . property of every kind, now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to the citizens of the United States.

For the estimated 3,000 Mexicans who remained, the treaty ordered

> . . . shall be incorporated into the union of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.[36]

Although the treaty reads like a Bill of Rights--there is no evidence that it functioned in this manner. The Mexicans that remained in the Southwest were frequently primary settlers who occupied a unique relation to the land, they felt it their homeland, but the Texans, land hungry,

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid.

aggressive, primed for new expansion,[37] were blind to this.

Hostility reborn of the war manifested itself in efforts to force some to leave their land (robbery, spoilage and "invasion by armed Americans")[38] others coerced and made fearful by these events, sold at "bargain" prices. They were not simply individual holders of property selling of their own free will. They were selling <u>because they were Mexicans</u> and their lands passed inexorably into American hands.[39]

Traditional tales of the Southwest involve this deprivation of property and the cleavage between Mexican and Anglos remains acerbated by these still-told, historical tales.

Eleven years later, before and during Sam Houston's shortened reign as Governor of Texas, Juan Nepomuceno Cortinas was to stage a bloody rebellion and near successful occupation of the countryside as far north as Brownsville,

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[37]The land parcels that were to make up the famous King Ranch were acquired at this time, in this manner. Tom Lea, <u>The King Ranch</u> and Taylor, <u>An American-Mexican Frontier</u>.

[38]Paul Schuster Taylor, <u>An American-Mexican Frontier</u> (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 184.

[39]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 182.

partially in revenge for this loss of land and for manipulations that he felt further deprived the Mexicans of their rights.[40]

Because they gave little thought to this deprivation of the mostly submissive and fearful Mexicans and even less thought to the possibility of a violent reaction, the Anglos were totally unprepared for the militancy and hatred launched against them, and, in fact, could find no reason for Cortinas' attacks and the substantial "army" of Mexican guerrillas he attracted. This lack of awareness was to cost the American government $335,000 in civilian losses from the terrorized area, the border area their peace and security[41] and to occupy, in a defensive "war" the First

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[40]In Oct. 1859 a Proclamation from Juan Cortinas during his "War" with the United States, stated: ". . . our object . . . has been to chastise the villainy of our enemies which heretofore has gone unpunished. These . . . rob us, without any cause and for no other crime on our part than that of being of Mexican origin . . . a secret conclave exists for the sole purpose of despoiling the Mexicans of their lands and usurp them afterwards. They have spread terror among the unwary, making them believe that he will hang the Mexicans and burn their ranches so that by this means he might compel them to abandon the country, and thus accomplish their object. . . ." U. S. President Message, "Difficulties on the Southwestern Frontier States" (36 Congress, 1st Session, House Doc. No. 52, March 29, 1860), pp. 69-72.

[41]"Every night the women and children residing upon the skirts of the city leave their homes and congregate in houses within the pickets, not knowing that they will have any homes in the morning. I am aware that persons who are

Infantry, the Texas Rangers and volunteers, for one year.

Brownsville was ultimately "saved" by the Texas Rangers and the American Army and Cortinas disappeared into Mexico--only to reappear again and again guerrilla-like to intimidate and harrass. He has however, seldom reappeared in Texas school history. The ethnocentricity that gave rise to the rebellion in the primary historical instant, is a characteristic of the dominant Anglo group in the Southwest. Their school historians have all but expunged this first Mexican American "militant" from the historical school myths that serve to integrate one segment,[42] the Anglos, of the Southwest.

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unacquainted with the population of Brownsville cannot understand why it is that a city with 2,500 population has not wound up this affair; but the fact is, that in our whole population we have not exceeded one hundred and fifty male persons who speak the English language, and not more than fifty Mexicans whose interests and feeling are sufficiently identified with us to cause them to join in the defence of the city, and all of them are required to guard the city within as well as without." U. S. President Message "Difficulties on the Southwestern Frontier States." (36 Congress, 1st Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 52, March 29, 1860), p. 47.

[42]What is being suggested is that Cortinas' exploits could be used within the public school system to make him a culture balance to the stories of the Alamo and other historical "memories" that bind the Anglos and maintain hatred and continued distrust of the Mexican American group.

Cortinas, a significant historical figure, in terms of modern perception, whose adventures did not lack in romance, pathos, success and potential political and military intrigue with Governor Sam Houston[43] is as invisible historically as his compatriots.

Many Western historians divide history into segregated "periods" and have called this time "The Period Between the Mexican American War and the Civil War." The Indians' historical perception, that of reality always being present only becoming manifest to the observer, might be closer to the historical truth: The essence of the future of Texas was always present, not yet manifest to the observer, nevertheless there were ominous foreshadowings, even while the peace, prosperity and near security of the 1850's allowed the Texans to play out their dreams, conflicts and fears.

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[43]There is evidence that Houston, seeking the Presidential seat, planned to invade Mexico and establish an American protectorate. Cortinas' guerrilla bands to serve both as an excuse for federal troop build up at the border and as an advance "Mexican" army.

Cortinas on Nov. 23, 1859 issued a proclamation that he expected help from Texas and that Mexicans of Texas could expect legal protection from Governor elect Houston. Between Jan. and March 1860 Houston sounded out Robert E. Lee (brought in to deal with Cortinas' War) whether he, Lee would be willing to abet Houston's plans. Llerena Friend, Sam Houston, The Great Designer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), pp. 302-306.

Texas was only years from being an independent republic, and Sam Houston and other "old timers" still thought of independence as a possible way out of national division and disarray, but the state began to be shaped and structured by "new settlers" many plantation owners from the south, and "new immigrants" (many impoverished) in organized resettlement attempts from Germany.

A fight for dominance and paradox upon paradox was now to emerge from the interplay of these three discernable forces: the land-owning majority, slaveholders and those against any extension of slavery. But the storm that was to engulf the nation and Texas on these very issues, was, at this time, merely the black and white imprint of national politics over a local scene that was newly concerned with

> . . . the advancement of the cause of education --the development of the resources of the country--the settlement of our state boundary-- the liquidation of our public debt--the protection of our exposed frontier--the navigation of our principle rivers--the construction of requisite rail roads-- . . .[44]

An uneasy peace prevailed at the border. Raiding parties of Mexicans, Indians and Texans made life unstable for those who had held on through the war; nevertheless a

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[44]Texas State Gazette, August 25, 1849, p. 6.

press of emigres from other states[45] began to stream along the immigrant road.[46] Some of the "politics of a growing population" could be discerned within the statistics:

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[45]Many natives of Tennessee and Virginia migrated to Texas at this time, Alabama and Mississippi were also well represented. In some instances, this movement Southwest was clearly for financial gain: the better class of cotton planters exhausted their old plantations moving on to rich new lands in the "semi-barbarous" West, which they then ruined in the same manner. The Lide family, however, represent a psychological case of the "moving impulse." They moved from South Carolina to the Black belt of Alabama in 1835, ten years later, although they had a good crop, they started plans for moving again. The Lides' son moved finally to Woodville, Texas in 1854 where he died of cholera which also killed several of his slaves. Of all the classes of Southern society, however, the non-slave holding farmers were the most migratory. Clement Eaton, The Growth of Southern Civilization (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), Harper Torchbooks, pp. 37-44.

[46]". . . the road could hardly be called a road. It was only a way where people had passed along before. Each man had taken such a path as suited him, turning aside to avoid, on high ground, the sand; on low ground, the mud. We chose, generally, the untrodden elastic pavement of pine leaves, at a little distance from the main track . . . still a chief thoroughfare. Inexorable destiny, it seems . . . drives on, always Westward, these toilworn people. Several families were frequently moving together, coming from the same district, . . . on the long road from Alabama, Georgia, or the Carolinas. Before you come upon them you hear, ringing through the woods, the fierce cries and blows with which they urge on their jaded cattle. Then the stragglers appear, lean dogs or fainting negroes, ragged and spiritless. An old granny, hauling on, by the hand, a weak boy--too old to ride, and too young to keep up. An old man, heavily loaded, with a rifle. Then the white covers of the waggons, jerking up and down as they mount over a root or plunge into a rut, disappearing, one after another, where the road descends. Then the active and cherry prime negroes, not yet exhausted, with a joke and a suggestion about tobacco. Then the black pickaninnies, staring, in a confushed heap, out of the back of the waggon. . . . Frederick Law Olmsted, The Cotton Kingdom (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), pp. 284, 285.

Total Population of Texas

1847[47]	----------	143,320
1848[48]	----------	155,292
1850	----------	212,592
1860	----------	604,215

The "white" count in 1850 was given as 154,031[49] if an estimated[50] 3,000 of that number were Mexican Americans, there was approximately one Mexican for every 50 Anglos. Among other immigrants into the United States,[51] there was an immigration of 3,715 Mexicans between 1850 and 1860.[52]

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[47]Texas State Gazette, Aug. 25, 1849, p. 5.

[48]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States Colonial Times to 1957. A Statistical Abstract Supplement, p. 13.

[49]U. S. Superintendent of the Census, Compendium of the Seventh Census 1850, op. cit., p. 150.

[50]Although there were six schedules in the 7th Census, covering--Free Inhabitants "indicating the number of dwellings and families, the name and surname of every free person, old or young, in the union, with their sex and exact age, their color, as white, black or mulatto; their nativity, as born in the state or in some other state or country, at home or abroad; their condition, as married or single; their education, as attending school in the year, or over 20 years of age and unable to read and write. A schedule on slaves, on mortality, agriculture, manufacturing and social statistics--there was no separate identifying breakdown for Mexicans.

[51]"Immigrants are pouring into the country. It is estimated that 1,000 or 1,200 wagons have crossed Red River at one ferry near Preston in the last three months, besides a hundred that have crossed lower down . . . they are mostly from Missouri, Illinois and Indiana, and some from the Southern States. Texas State Gazette, Dec. 22, 1849.

[52]Historical Statistics, op. cit., p. 59.

It is to be presumed that only a percentage of this number settled in Texas giving some numerical justification for the continuing institutional invisibility of the group.

The Mexican American could however be perceived by a sensitive and discerning traveler, and the growing antagonisms between the Southern settlers in Texas and the Mexican Americans smoldered visibly:

> The mingled Puritanism and brigandism, which distinguishes the vulgar mind of the South, peculiarly unfits it to harmoniously associate with the bigoted, childish and passionate Mexicans. They are considered to be heathen; not acknowledged as "white folks." Inevitably they are dealt with insolently and unjustly. They fear and hate the ascendant race, and involuntarily associate and sympathize with the negroes.[53]

Open hostility between Texans and Mexicans had, as one underlying factor, the escape of fugitive slaves. "In 1856 a plot of Negroes in Colorado County to kill their masters take horses and arms, and fight their way through to Mexico was discovered. The committee of white announced that 'without exception every Mexico in the county was implicated.' They were arrested and ordered to leave the county within five days and never to return."[54]

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[53]Frederick Law Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas (New York, Burt Franklin, 1860 reprint 1969), pp. 455, 456.

[54]Paul Schuster Taylor, An American Mexican Frontier (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 37.

To add to the growing racial fears and slave-related polarization and antagonisms there was actually a substantial growth of slave population in Texas.

For example, the population of western Texas:

1850	41,000	7,000 slaves
1856	93,000	23,000 slaves[55]

While in eastern Texas, the last frontier of the cotton kingdom--planters, more "at home" in the plantation environment they shaped, and without German free labor ideas[56] to hinder them--shipped 58,161 bales of cotton in 1850 and ten years later, 431,463 bales.[57] The pre-civil war atmosphere became more and more charged with paranoia and fear. From "invisibility" the Mexican poor became highly visible--the most vulnerable, unprotected scapegoat in an increasingly tense national scenario.

Dateline--Texas, 1854:

> . . . We are satisfied that the lower class of the Mexican population are incendiaries in any country where slaves are held . . .

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[55]Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, p. 441.

[56]The German settlements in New Braunfels and San Antonio were, for the most part against the extension of slavery, although quiescent through fear of lynch law and the coercion of "Americanism" (Know-Nothing) campaigns. Olmsted, Journey Through Texas, pp. 434-437.

[57]Olmsted, A Journey Through Texas, pp. 235, 244.

> Peace, quiet and good order are again restored, and by the watchful care of our vigilance committee, a well-organized patrol . . .[58]

> The people of Matagorda county have held a meeting and ordered every Mexican to leave the country . . . Peon Mexicans . . . have no fixed domicile. . . . We should rather have anticipated an appeal to Lynch Law, than the mild course which has been adopted.[59]

Some of the same kind of fear affected the most powerful! Sam Houston and the Know-Nothing party became posed against these forces seen as alien and dangerous within Texas.[60] A short pre-Presidential political struggle developed between those who could be viewed as the "Establishment" determined to shape and direct the major institutions of Texas while warding off all thrusts from the North.

For a brief span in 1854-1855, Sam Houston, with his many paradoxes of personality symbolized both the American Party and Texas ambivalence. In a power-thrust aimed at the Presidency, Houston allowed his nomination

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[58] Ibid., p. 504. [59] Ibid., p. 502.

[60] The presence of this incongruous foreign element of Mexicans and Germans tends to hinder settlement by planters. If the Germans continued to flock into the country it would rapidly acquire all the characteristic features of a free labour community. Olmsted, op. cit., p. 440.

on the Know-Nothing ticket in October of 1854.[61] He had some supporters at home,[62] and Texas newspapers began to carry many items on Know-Nothingism both in support and in criticism of their programs so that when Houston spoke at a Know-Nothing mass barbecue at Austin on Nov. 23, 1855 this speech was printed in The State Gazette, The Standard, The True Issue and The Texas State Times:

> . . . It is the only party . . . whose principles will maintain the perpetuity of our free institutions . . . We make war upon no sect . . . but I will resist the political influence of Pope or Priest. Have no Catholics cursed and threatened us? Are not their doctrines opposed to republican institutions? We act merely upon the principle of resistance and not aggression. . . Is there a spot on earth where the Catholic religion prevails that liberty exists. . . Can a foreigner be a citizen of a state, who is not a naturalized citizen of the United States? And would it be legitimate to invest him with the rights of suffrage until he has become a citizen under the constitution. . . I am not willing to surrender into their hands the liberties and privileges transmitted to us by our fathers, until they have resided here a sufficient length of time for their affections and feelings to

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[61]Llerena Friend, Sam Houston The Great Designer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), p. 235.

[62]Dr. Rufus Burleson, the first President of Baylor University, who rebaptized Houston and forty years later was to eulogize him. (Baylor University had 128 degree-graduate before the Civil War. There are no Spanish sur-named persons on that list). Baylor Bulletin. The Alumni Directory 1854-1914, Vol. XVIII, No. 4.

> become identified with those of this country . . . The foreigner who does not understand our language who is unacquainted with our laws, whose affections and prejudices are still identified with the country from which he has emigrated, shall pass as long a probation here as we require of American boys. . .[63]

"Sam"'s[64] position was viewed as politically suicidal. The Germans and Mexicans were driven into the Democratic Party, which party, for the first time became a strong organization in Texas, and a staunch support of the States' rights wing of the national party.[65] In November of 1856 James Buchanan, a Pennsylvanian with Southern leanings was elected to the Presidency with Texans voting overwhelmingly for him on the Democratic ticket.

The country was only four years from Civil War. In Texas fear became the catalyst that moved other seemingly disparate forces together in a series of acts that were to provide the financial base for the public education system of Texas, and the culminating Common School Law of 1854.

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[63]The Writings of Sam Houston, 1813-1863 ed. by Amelia W. Williams and Eugene C. Barker (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1938-1948), Vol. VI, pp. 209-232.

[64]The official Texas name for Know-Nothings and for Sam Houston, at this time.

[65]Friend, Sam Houston, op. cit., p. 243.

A broad strip of land south of the Gila River (available through the Gadsden Purchase) could now be used for a southern routed railroad through Texas. The promoters of this railroad line hoped to receive from Texas 16 sections of land for every mile constructed across the state. While he was still Senator, Houston was enlisted in this preliminary plan to give this kind of bonus to the railroad "reserving every alternate" section for free schools, and when "the roads are built the reserved alternate section will be worth five times as much as both sections were before the railroad was built."[66]

The wealthier people of the South had always sent their older children to institutions in the northern states for training. There they acquired the social and political views of their teachers. The Texans, saw their children returning with state rights and anti-slavery ideas. Even in Texas, a large proportion of the teachers were from the North and the textbooks in use were frequently written by

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[66]Joseph Henry Harrison Ellis, Sam Houston and Related Spiritual Forces (Houston, Texas: The Concord Press 1945) unpaged. Part of the address delivered before the Texas Legislature, March 2, 1893, at the memorial serivces of the 100 anniversary of the birth of Gen. Sam Houston by Rev. R. C. Burleson.

authors with abolitionist sentiments.[67]

In his campaign for Governor in 1853 Elisha Marshall Pease used these fears to pressure for a public school law:

> It should be our policy to furnish within our own limits all the means for obtaining an education . . . so as to remove the necessity of having to send our youth abroad to be educated among those who are hostile to the policy and institutions of the state.[68]

The education scene in Texas, unsatisfactory as it was academically (supra, Chart p. 77) and desperate as it seemed politically, would have remained static, had it not been for the federal government's boundary award. These U. S. indemnity bonds, it was proposed, could be set aside as a permanent school fund, the interest used for the support of the schools, the fund itself loaned out at a renumerative rate[69] of interest to the railroad companies.

This scheme won a large number of Texans to the cause of popular education and gave Governor Pease his first term in office.

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[67]Eby, Development, pp. 113-115.

[68]Ibid., p. 113.

[69]U. S. Bonds were bringing in 5% and the railroads would be expected to pay 6%.

The Texas School Law of February 1854, which established the first public system of education in the state provided

> . . . That the sum of two millions of dollars of the five percent bonds of the United States, . . . be set apart as a school fund. . . . . That it shall be the duty of the Assessor and Collector of each county in the State, during the year eighteen hundred and fifty-four, and every year thereafter, to make out a list of all the free white population in his county between the ages of six and sixteen years, particularly designating the number of persons between such ages in each school district and transmit the same . . . on or before the first day of July . . .[70]

The State treasurer was appointed ex officio superintendent of common schools and was charged with carrying out the law. The county judge and commissioners were constituted a country school board. This board was instructed to divide each county into convenient school districts and to see to the election of three trustees in each school district.

The per capita state apportionment was applied to the payment of teachers' salaries. Only those districts could avail themselves of the State bounty which had provided the "schoolhouse with the necessary seats . . ."[71]

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[70]Laws of Texas 1822-1897, compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel (Austin: The Gammel Book Company, 1898), p. 1461.

[71]Eby, Development, pp. 116, 117.

There was immediate enthusiasm and support for the new bill, and within 10 months 89 of the 100 counties had reported their scholastic population--the total scholastic population of the state was estimated at 65,463; the per capita allowance was 62 cents.

But Texans, in general, did not understand what was meant by public education--they believed it meant public support for private education. Only settlers from the northeast and the German colonists fully understood the implications of "free public schools": In fact, the German colonists had organized schools wherever they settled and during this period had, in effect, bilingual schools functioning.

> In Neu Braunfels and the surrounding German hamlets there are five free schools for elementary education, one exclusive Roman Catholic School, a town free school of higher grade, and a private, classical school. In all of these schools English is taught with German. The teacher of the higher department of the central town school is paid 400 dollars a year; that of the primary department (a female) two hundred dollars.[72]

The first Common School Law had been passed and found support but not the kind of support that was necessary. Few districts could meet the requirements of school houses

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[72]Olmsted, Journey, p. 179.

and equipment. No provision had been made for the securing of buildings by public means and voluntary subscriptions were necessary (local taxation was not permitted, for the most part.) In Western Texas where the German colonies were thriving[73] the highly motivated settlers put their back to the actual physical building of the required school:

> . . . one citizen donated the site. Others cut down oak trees, which others in turn hauled to the site and cut to size. The beautiful cypress trees supplied the shingles for the roof . . . A teacher was found too. Cash money was hard to get. The salary was small, even at that it could be raised only for a few months of the year. The little barefoot Comforters, to which we contributed our contingent, did not get too learned, but they grew up to be strong, healthy and full of life, skilled in work about the house and the field, full of courage and love for riding and hunting, self-reliant with good practical sense, lords of creation clothed in skimpy garments.[74]

That kind of cooperation did not develop in the rest of Texas: Although the law provided public schools, pauper schools and private schools, private school interests began to

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[73]By 1860 the foreign-born Germans constituted 3.4 per cent of the total population of Texas, or nearly five per cent of the white population. In addition, there were perhaps 2.5 per cent who had been born in Texas. Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell, Texas Yesterday and Today (Dallas, Texas: Turner Company, 1949), p. 212.

[74]Henry B. Dielmann, "Emma Altgelt's Sketches of Life in Texas". The Southern Historical Quarterly, Vol. LXIII (Jan. 1960), p. 381.

battle those supporting state monies for indigent and orphaned children.[75] By 1856, private school interests had triumphed--the new school law provided that any group of people anywhere were permitted to set up a school and to employ a teacher. The state paid for each child who attended the school. Great disparities resulted: In towns, indigent children attended the better schools where tuition was high; in the country the children had poor schools. Some teachers were paid high salaries, others low. The poor frequently did not send their children to school at all preferring not to submit to the indignity--some schools refused the poor, advertising their "selective process."[76]

As the parents and private school interests gained more control there was diminishing involvement and support by the public in general. By 1861 only a dozen counties reported their scholastic population.

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[75]The law provided tuition for those children whose parents were unable to pay:

1854-55	$ 394.82
1855-56	$3,986.06
1856-57	$5,898.00
1857-58	$1,947.09
1858-59	$ 505.25

Eby, Development, p. 122.

[76]Eby, Development, pp. 121-125.

Scholastic Population Report[77]

Total Counties		
100	1854	89 counties reported
100	1855	75 counties reported
112	1856	22 counties reported
124	1861	12 counties reported

Paradoxically, this concept of private schooling as the image of the most desirable education allowed some Mexican American children to remain within the scholastic picture.

That is, some children in Brownsville, Texas, for example were the beneficiaries of either Melinda Rankin's Presbyterian ministrations (supra, p.79) or competing Catholic teachings.

Miss Rankin, whose crusading techniques, had launched a school for Mexican children in 1852, now returned with $2,500 to re-open the Rio Grande Female Institute under the care and visitation of the Presbyterian Denomination in Texas and under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S.[78]

> We have in Brownsville some three or four thousand Mexicans, who have escaped the

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[77]Eby, Development, p. 120.

[78]John C. Rayburn, "Melinda Rankin-Crusader of the Rio Grande." Journal of Presbyterian History (March 1962), Vol. 40, No. 3, p. 164.

> dreaded influence of a corrupt priesthood of their own country, in whose moral condition and wants my sympathies are deeply enlisted . . . A Protestant Seminary is reared in front of Papal Mexico, and within its walls are gathered Mexican girls, whose improvement encourages me to hope that their consciences may become enlightened. . . .[79]

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[79]Rankin, Twenty Years, op. cit., p. 65.

CHAPTER IV

BROWN OUT!

The meaning of "excluded cultural minority" becomes clear when the annals of recorded evidence of the Civil War period are studied carefully. The ethnic-linguistic, religious, geographic, even racial distinctiveness of the Mexican American in Texas become key determinants of non-identification and then, semi-visibility.

A mix of Mexican Americans' isolation, poverty, different language, different religion, Mexican loyalties and/or political ignorance which all existed prior to the North/South conflict, plus the overriding war borne concerns of the Texas majority caused a near total Brown Out!

This was not modern self-conscious separateness by the minority group--i.e., by the choice of the minority. Rather, the Mexican American had been eliminated from whatever evidence had been transmitted as "history."

The war was an American convulsion concerned with slavery and the future of the Blacks and the relationship

between the Blacks and whites in the South. Because of physical fear of insurrection[1] and the economic fear of loss of "property" through emancipation, run-aways to the Union troops and to the North, the Texans were both consciously concerned with the well-being of their slaves and other slaves brought into the area for "safe-keeping" and did watch the Negroes. There was nothing to be gained or lost from the Mexican American so there were no official records or reports of their activities.

Evidence of Mexican American presence in Texas during this period must be discerned by interpolations[2] of available statistical data. Because of the institutional veil of invisibility surrounding the group and the lack of precise census identification, incident-by-incident, name-by-name culling from letters, soldiers' field reports, diaries, local newspapers, etc. provide shadows of evidence

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[1]Southern women articulated this "fear" from the fall of 1859 when John Brown and 19 followers raided Harper's Ferry--"Wild tales were afloat,--that other agents of the abolition party of the North were among us; . . . We pictured all the horrors of a negro insurrection; recalling the Southampton massacre of the whites several years before . . ." Mrs. A. V. Winkler, The Confederate Capital, Hoods Texas Brigade (Austin, Eugene Von Boeckmann, 1894), p. 2.

[2]The justification for this method is the lack of other hard data and corroborative reports.

as to where the Mexican Americans were and what they were doing during the Civil War when they were involved with the mainstream. This area of interaction was, at best, a partial picture.

Patterning that is distinctively cultural provides other relevant data. Significant to this study is the fact of this separate historical reality, as is the "lost" past.

In 1860 there was a Federal Census that still included the Confederate States.[3]

Texas Population[4]

White	Free Colored	Slave	Total
421,194	355	182,566	604,215

There is the continuing presumption that Mexican Americans have been included in the WHITE count, in this

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[3]". . . the unhappy insurrection which developed . . . was not the occasion of the detention or loss of any of the returns, and we are enabled to present a true statement of the condition of the population immediately preceding the lamentable Civil War which has impeded immigration . . . The rebellion . . . has interrupted communication with many of the marshals, and to some small extent with the South . . ." U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Eighth Census. Population 1860, Introduction II, IV.

[4]Ibid., Preliminary Report, p. 131.

census, although the classification of the population by color was not based on replies to questions asked by enumerators, but was obtained by observation.[5] Mexicans range in color from very light to quite dark. Texans do not now (see Chapter I , page 21) and have not in the past perceived Mexicans as white. Whether Census Bureau instructions to Texan enumerators in 1859-1860 would change this perception raises questions[6] about just how many Mexicans were included in this count. This possible "excluded" census population continued until 1930.[7]

There was hard data on "Persons of Mexican Birth" in Texas[8] in the Eighth Census: 12,443. The population count

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[5]U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957. A Statistical Abstract Supplement, p. 2.

[6]What is being questioned is the validity of historical measurements. (This suspicion of non-inclusion in the white census count would refer also to the census of 1850).
The inadequacy of ongoing census statistics for Mexican Americans has been raised by that community. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, To Know or Not To Know (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, Feb. 1973) footnote 5, p. 4.

[7]"Persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who are not definitely Indian or of other nonwhite stock have been classified as white in all censuses except that of 1930". Statistical Abstract Supplement, op. cit., p. 2.
In 1930 Mexicans were specifically identified under "other colored", but this enumeration was not repeated in 1940. To Know or Not To Know, op. cit., footnote 5, p. 4.

[8]Eighth Census, op. cit., p. 490. There were 27,466 Mexican born residents in the United States. Ibid., p. 622.

that is missing is that number who were not of Mexican birth--but of Mexican ancestry. Putting those two populations together would allow a fair estimate of the Mexican American minority group in Texas--in its totality.

Using the available statistics it is clear that the Mexican American group was at least the second[9] largest free minority group in Texas at this time. Because Mexicans had been in the Texas area since 1790 (see Chapter II) and the Germans only since the 1850's, it is entirely conceivable that there were 8,000 or more Texans of Mexican ancestry--that lost statistic--which would make the two large free minority groups approximate each other.

Adding to the "numbers" confusion was the fact of a permeable Texas/Mexico land border during the Civil War itself. The population shifted rapidly and with fluidity from Mexico to Texas and back again as safety[10] and economics[11]

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[9]The German minority group was the largest with a population of 20,553. Ibid., p. 490.

[10]There was a counter-revolutionary (imperialistic) war going on in Mexico itself during the American Civil War.

[11]"Bagdad, a mushroom city, near the mouth of the Rio Grande, in the State of Tamaulipas, Mexico, became during the Civil War in the United States a place of great importance to blockade runners, who from this point carried on a lucrative trade with western Texas . . .

"During this same period Matamoras [Mexico] increased in population to 60,000 and Brownsville [Texas] with Cameron

dictated. This seismographic flood brought in Mexicans, and frequently during the tide of war--Mexicans and Americans--sought "hard" money and refuge on the reverse bank.[12]

Thus geographically, the Texan/Mexican border had significance in the war and as evidence accumulates that there were more Mexican Americans in Texas during this period than can be determined from the readily available statistics or war-time commentaries--the historical Brown Out becomes less and less defensible.

If the inference of this blank historical page is that the Mexican Americans were not involved in the conflict--a surface probe reveals that the contrary was true.[13]

County to over 25,000." Rev. P. F. Parisot, Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary (San Antonio, Texas Johnson Bros. Printing Co. 1899), pp. 55-58.

[12]Ultimately, a group of Texas Confederate leaders, defeated but "unreconstructed" fled across the border seeking permanent refuge and a new colony in Mexico. W. C. Nunn, Escape From Reconstruction (Fort Worth, Texas, Texas Christian University, 1956).

[13]". . . the Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Texas . . . [and] Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Texas . . . include many Mexican-American names, . . ." Letter from Michael P. Musick, Navy and Old Army Branch Military Archives Division, National Archives and Records Service, Oct. 15, 1975.

The point of exclusion from history is being belabored because if left blank--this substantial Southwestern minority group is given no choice but to accept those fantasies fashioned by the mainstream in lieu of self-oriented historical realities. As indicated earlier in this document (Chapter II, page 40) what this has meant is the transmission of a "lost" or degraded past to the Mexican American child.

The historical past that has been recorded shows that Civil War was to threaten the very life of the United States from the "insurrection" "incredibly strange . . . wildest and maddest fanaticism"[14] at Harper's Ferry on October 16, 1859. But Texan energies were not yet consumed by that national crisis: A political-military calendar particular to the state was "operative."

Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee, stationed in Texas, was in command of the three systems of Texas Forts and Cortinas' War, at the border. (See Chapter III, pp. 92, 93, 94.)

It was Lee who was called by the United States' Secretary of War to take command of a detachment of marines and proceed to Harper's Ferry. This command was executed

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[14]New York Herald, Oct. 18, 1859, p. 3.

promptly: The perpetrators were killed or mortally wounded and later John Brown was tried in a Virginia court, found guilty of treason and hanged on Dec. 2, 1859.[15]

Meanwhile "back at the ranch" Gov. Houston was running for President of the United States on maneuvers that used the guerrilla war at the border as rationalization for "pacification of Mexico" and the build-up of a substantial State militia for self defense.[16]

There was secessionist-sepage: On Jan. 21, 1860, Houston transmitted to the Legislature a message from the Governor of South Carolina accompanied by a resolution from that state asserting the right of secession.[17] But the governor denied this right and implored Texans not to be disloyal to the union. Although his anti-secessionist views discomfited the majority of Texans there was still a vocal pro-union minority. Included among other Texan "dissenters" were the German immigrants[18] and a group of

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[15]Carl Coke Rister, Robert E. Lee in Texas (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), pp. 24-99.

[16]Friend, Sam Houston, The Great Designer, op. cit., pp. 302-308.

[17]Ibid., p. 311.

[18]Georgia Lee Tatum, Disloyalty in the Confederacy (New York: AMS Press, 1970), pp. 11, 12.

Mexican Americans at the border near Carrizo.[19] (These were in addition to Cortinas' guerrillas who were bitter and hostile to the Anglos but whose political frame of reference was south to Mexico, not north to Washington.) In New York Houston, who was a national figure, won a nomination for President on which swell of public sentiment he was a "People's Candidate" for more than six months.[20]

By Feb. 21, 1860 Lee was back in San Antonio being sounded out by Houston on a "protectorate for Mexico" if he, Houston ran for President. The South was seething and secessionist leadership was building in Texas itself--Lee was more in tune with these vibrations. As a high ranking member of the southern military-aristocracy and a veteran of the Mexican American War his perceptions of Mexicans in the United States were culturally skewed.[21]

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[19]U. S. War Dept., The War of Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Record of the Union & Confederate Armies (Washington 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 13.

[20]Friend, op cit., pp. 311-219.

[21]He cited the contrast between the military establishment at Fort Duncan and the "wretched-looking Mexican hovels" of Piedras Negras and Eagle Pass whose population of two or three hundred were mostly Mexican: Shanties--and broken cart wheels, yokes and other rubbish; chickens running loose, and hogs sleeping in holes they had rooted out on the shady sides.

With no understanding of differing values, Lee was irked by the "listlessness of the Mexican": Idolently, they drove their clumsy wooden-wheeled carretas, laden with vegetables

Lee corroborated the governor's claim to Washington that the troops available at the border were insufficient but his territorial ambitions, unlike Houston's, went no further.[22]

It was now a year of national crisis and North/South polarization but in Texas, as a feint (he continued to be an anti-secessionist leader) and as an attempt to build Presidential capital (aggression against Mexico was part of the frontier-tradition) Houston kept both the local and federal governments focused on the border: March 6, 1860 . . . report on the alleged hostilities existing on the Rio Grande between the citizens of the military

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to the town markets or sold their produce on the streets; and whatever money their wares brought, they promptly spent without thought of the morrow. Some squatted idly by open jacal doorways, smoking cigaretos or watching the teeming life flow by; and still others strummed on guitars or engaged in frivolous pursuits, as though they had an eternity to live.

Lee disliked the Mexicans' dancing, cockfighting and horse racing. In June of 1860 he wrote to Mrs. Lee: "Yesterday was St. John's Day . . . Every Mexican who could procure a quadruped was cavorting through the streets with the thermometer over a hundred degrees in the shade . . . and dust several inches thick on the streets." Rister, Lee, pp. 65, 129, 131.

[22]Lee indicated support for the maintenance of "the rights and peace of Texas" and the "Constitution and laws of the country." Friend, op. cit., p. 303.

authorities of Mexico and the State of Texas.[23]

March 22, 1860 . . . a resolution on frontier defense.[24]

March 29, 1860 . . . Message from the President of the United States on the "Difficulties on the Southwestern Frontier."[25]

But the problems were slavery and secession vs. abolition and union. The four presidential candidates nominated by the conventions were Lincoln, Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell and by Aug. 14, 1860 Houston withdrew officially from this contest,[26] although not from his increasingly dangerous anti-secessionist position.

(Nevertheless, the lines of demarcation between Mexico and the United States were sensitive areas, and as late as October 8, 1860, Col. Lee was reporting from his

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[23]Index to the Executive Documents, Senate of the United States. (Thirty-Sixth Congress, 2nd Session and Special Session 1860-1861) (Washington: George W. Bowman, Printer 1861), p. 761.

[24]Ibid., p. 765.

[25]U. S. President Message, "Difficulties on the Southwestern Frontier States" (36 Congress, 1st Session, House Doc. No. 52, March 29, 1860.) (See Chapter III, pp. 17, 18, 19.)

[26]Friend, p. 320.

headquarters in San Antonio to Col. Cooper, Adj. Gen. in Washington, about the necessity of military protection.)[27]

Then it was November and there were presidential elections. At the polls, Texas voters registered nothing for Lincoln, nothing for Douglas, 47,548 for Breckenridge, 15,438 for Bell. (The votes for Breckenridge and Bell were considered approximately representative of the votes for and against secession[28] and secessionist leaders responding to that cue, pushed an election to a secession convention to meet Jan. 28, 1861.)[29]

Texans were bolting the Union while Houston hauled despairingly at the reins: He called the legislature early, but upon meeting, the Texas legislative body supported the convention. On Jan. 28, the Texas convention passed an ordinance that was to be ratified or rejected by the people the following month. A few days before this vote, Houston

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[27]He indicated that posts on that frontier appear to be necessary for the maintenance of friendly relations with Mexico and apparently will continue to be so as long as the Rio Grande remains the boundary between the two nations. U. S. Senate, Executive Documents, Vol. 2, 36 Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 32.

[28]Tatum, Disloyalty, op. cit., pp. 12, 13.

[29]Because of union sentiment nearly one-half of the counties held no election. In many of the counties in which elections were held, unionists refused to vote. Ibid., p. 11.

came down to Galveston to speak, although he had been warned not to attempt it. The drift of Houston's speech was the inexpediency and bad policy of secession.[30]

Texans passed an ordinance of secession 46,129 to 14,697 on Feb. 23, 1861, this took affect March 2--the 25 birthday of Texas. South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana had already seceeded, later Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas and North Carolina were to follow suit.

On March 4, Houston issued a proclamation that Texas had seceeded. On that date a Confederate chronicler noted the

> Inauguration of President Lincoln . . . It differed from all former inaugurations of the Chief Magistrate in this, that a large body of military under some pretext, was concentrated in Washington, prepared and under orders for active service, and that it was the inauguration of a President whose authority was totally repudiated by seven of the once United States, and was fast waning in several others.[31]

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[30]Thomas North, Five Years in Texas; Or What You Did Not Hear During The War. (Cincinnati: Elm Street Printing Co., 1871), p. 92.

[31]H. C. Clarke, Diary of the War For Separation (Vicksburg, Mississippi Clerks Office of the District Court, District of the Confederate States, 1862), p. 61.

The Convention adopted an ordinance uniting Texas with the Confederate States but Houston refused to take the prescribed oath of office. There is evidence that President Lincoln sent two messengers to Gov. Houston with offers of military aid to sustain his anti-sessionist governorship but these offers were also refused.[32]

The Convention also elected delegates to Montgomery where the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy had been meeting since Feb. 4 and established a "Committee of Public Safety" for the defense of the state. This Committee's first military action was a take-over of munitions in the hands of 2,500 U. S. troops in Western Texas under the Command of Major General Twiggs.[33]

Virginia seceeded April 12 and General Robert E. Lee resigned his position in the United States Army. With wild enthusiasm ("The bustle and excitement of military preparations was noticeable all along the route from Texas to Virginia. . . . The people seemed entirely sure of

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[32]Friend, op. cit., pp. 340-345.

[33]Twiggs, a Georgian and Confederate sympathizer was dismissed from the United States Army for "treachery." Charles William Ramsdell, Reconstruction in Texas (Ph.D. dissertation, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia, 1910), p. 11.

success.")[34] military companies were formed, some moving on to Virginia with their own funds.[35]

As has been stated earlier in this chapter, the Mexican Americans have been left out of most of the accounts of the recorded history of the Civil War, i.e., not counted in both a physical and psychological sense. The following searched[36] and recorded fragments and incidents have been interwoven within the time and space of the period, by this researcher, to give a feeling of the ethos of the Mexican Americans, examples of their economic vulnerability and isolation, to indicate the "separateness" of the institutions that serviced the group and to give witness to the spectrum of attitudes that the Mexican American acted upon.

This should not be taken as an adequate, partial or complete history of the military and social life of Mexican Americans during the Civil War period. Those histories have yet to be researched and written.

This historical "weaving" is merely a statement

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[35]Winkler, Hoods Texas Brigade, p. 32.

[36]The incidents involving the Mexican American group are from primary sources, diaries, reminiscences, memoirs, and military records of the War of Rebellion.

to the effect that the Mexican Americans were involved within the North-South conflict both in the military and in the supporting (and/or hostile) forces. They served in the armies of both the North and the South and suffered the deprivations of the poor. The available evidence indicates that they were serviced by Catholic missionaries.

It was the first optimistic spring of the Civil War: Confederates felt they were fighting for "their independence as our forefathers did in the Revolution of 1776 . . ."[37] Texas fortified Galveston, its most vulnerable coastal city and captured the Federal Army stationed at Indianola. Various acts were passed to organize a Confederate Army by calling out 100,000 volunteers to serve one year. State militia forces were called upon for six months' service; and in general the machinery of the state governments were relied upon.[38] In Texas, with frontier-like alacrity twenty companies of infantry left for the Virginia battlefields, and the Eighth Texas Cavalry accompanied Gov. Lubbock on a political but

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[37]Confederate States Almanac for the Year of our Lord, 1864 (Macon, Ga.: Burke Boykin & Co.; Mobile, Ala.: S. H. Goetzel), p. 17.

[38]John Christopher Schwab, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, London 1901), p. 4.

"social" visit to Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy.

> . . . the city astir with warlike preparations, soldiers and officers coming and going; companies marching and drilling, the air resonant with the blare of military music, and Confederate flags floating from public and private buildings.[39]

This wave of gaiety and patriotism was not to last more than a year and even while it lasted was more an upper class phenomena than a reflection of the feelings of the non-slaveholding poor.[40] To some Mexican families in Texas, isolated even from these lower-class concerns of farm maintenance, food and money[41] the war seemed remote indeed:

> . . . missionaries labors extended [to them] along the banks of the Rio Grande in one direction, and in the other far away into the interior of Texas--plus a large number of detached habitations scattered over the wide plains and prairies or buried in great forests . . . the huts composing the ranch are very miserable structures. A few poles are fixed in the ground; these are interlaced with branches of trees, and the whole interior is

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[39]Lubbock, Six Decades, p. 326.

[40]Bell Irvin Wiley, The Plain People of the Confederacy (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), pp. 29-36.

[41]At the outbreak of the war the salary of a private or corporal was eleven dollars a month; that of a sergeant, twenty dollars; that of a captain $130.00; that of a colonel $195.00; and that of a brigadier general $210.00. Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, The Women of the Confederacy (Richmond and New York: Garrett and Massie, Incorporated, 1936), p. 116.

> coated with mud. . . . The inhabitants of these ranches are of Mexican origin. They are full of reverence for the Priest, but owing to their isolation and the difficulty of giving them religious instruction, they are often found to be very ignorant, especially in remote places . . .[42]

How many families of Mexican origin lived out the Civil War years in partial[43] isolation? (In 1874, at a special mass conducted by Bishop Odin, 2,862 children and grown people were confirmed from Corpus Christi to Brownsville and from Brownsville to Roma on the Rio Grande.[44] This number was swelled by post-civil-war immigration, but some idea of the population can be determined. Also noteworthy is the fact that Catholicism, the Mexican American's religious distinctiveness, allows for the population count.)

In the same manner, Mexican Americans were sometimes separated-from and sometimes part-of mainstream military and social concerns:

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[42]Rev. P. F. Parisot, Reminiscences of a Texas Missionary, pp. 90, 91.

[43]That this isolation was only partial is inferred from the description of the scene: "A picture of General Jackson hung on one side of the altar and one of General Lee on the other." Parisot, Reminiscences, p. 130.

[44]Ibid., p. 115.

During the summer of 1861, Texans helped win a costly Confederate victory at Manassas, but Hood's Texas Brigade was "decimated, fully half of its numbers killed, wounded and missing. The wounded and dead Texans were scattered a distance of two miles."[45] A roster count of the Brigade, The Fifth, Fourth and First Texas Regiments, indicates no Spanish surnamed soldiers.[46]

That fall Gov. Lubbock gave a "levee" for the Legislature and all citizens were invited. "It was a jam and everything was served in profusion . . ."[47] It might be expected that few, if any, Mexicans attended. However, the same Gov. Lubbock has left a personal account of his own indebtedness to three Mexicans, prisoners[48] who were farmed out to him by the government and who saved him from "suffering" and possible death, earlier, during his frontier days in Houston:

> We were in our clapboard shanty . . . It snowed and froze for several days, and the thin walls . . . were little protection . . . The snow drifted through, and only in bed under the thick

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[45]Winkler, Hoods Texas Brigade, p. 100.

[46]Ibid., pp. 284, 287, 290.

[47]Lubbock, Six Decades, p. 343.

[48]The state penitentiary at Huntsville was used during the Civil War as a factory. It is possible that "uncounted" Mexican Americans worked there.

> blankets could we keep warm, and only then could we keep the snow out of our faces by the thick cloth of the mosquito bar at the top of the improvised canopy. Secure in the service of our faithful Mexicans who foraged and cooked as best they could, keeping up a log-heap fire and bringing us our meals to the bedside, we snoozed away two days until the storm was over.[49]

But the evidence suggests that not all Mexican Americans in Texas were "loyal" either personally, or to the "Southern Cause." In Corpus Christi there were complaints as early as August, 1861 that bands of Mexicans calling themselves "Yankees" were "robbing" ranches of cattle for the Federal forces.[50] Other "marauders" turned out, on investigation, to be

> . . . inhabitants of this state, but when Texas seceded, they refused to bear allegiance to the Confederacy . . . supporting no government except that of the United States.[51]

Capt. Brewin, queried Col. John S. Ford, Confederate Commander in the ares:

> Their ranches on this side of the river are mostly deserted. Occasionally you will find servants in some of the ranches attending to their stock. Is not the property subject to

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[49]Lubbock, Six Decades, pp. 94, 95.

[50]Paul Schuster Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 47.

[51]Ibid., p. 132.

> confiscation? If so, am I the proper person to take the matter in hand?[52]

The same captain found that many Mexican citizens of Zapata County had not taken the oath of allegiance to the Confederate States. Responding to both queries, Col. Ford informed his subordinate that they

> . . . are likely to give trouble. They are backed by a strong party in Guerrero, who avow the intention to take service with the North, should Mr. Lincoln send an invading force to the Rio Grande.[53]
>
> . . . In regard to the property mentioned, I shall call the attention of the Confederate authorities to the fact, and let them take the proper steps in the matter.[54]

Experiencing a pattern common to minority groups in more recent wars, Mexican Americans were not isolated from what could be termed "mainstream international concerns" although their degree of participation within national concerns could be measured on a wide spectrum.

Civil disruption within the United States had inter-continental and subsequently intra-continental implications: As the Monroe Doctrine became indefensible, Louis Napoleon, in France, determined on conquest of Mexico.

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[52] Ibid., p. 132. [53] Ibid., p. 137.

[54] Ibid.

Thus an imperialistic war, and smaller revolutions[55] raged antiphonically in Mexico during the Civil War period. The North maintained friendly relationships with Benito Juarez[56] the constitutional President of Mexico from Jan. 11, 1861; the South courted "Emperor" Maximilian, who had been placed on his "throne" by Napoleon and the French army.

> Evidence of protest from Washington that the government of the North bases its protest upon the Monroe doctrine, and would consider the establishment of an empire in Mexico by French influence as a menace to American independence and encouragement given to the South[57]
>
> We are on terms of amity and friendship and maintaining diplomatic relations with the republic of Mexico. We regard that country

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[55]Ruiz, Revueltas, Carvajal, Escobedo, Cortinas, Canales--Revolutions were the order of the day--the Rojos, the Crinolinos, the Colorados, the Azules were some of the appellations of the political parties of the time. The first question every morning was: "How many were killed last night?" Many a time our mission on the Texas side was blessed by the accumulation of the wounded and the vanquished . . . Parisot, Reminiscences, pp. 100, 101.

[56]"On the 21st, Pres. Juarez received the Hon. Thomas Corwin, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the United States." Mexican Extraordinary, Vol. VI, No. 53. Printed in Mexico, May 25, 1861.

[57]The Record (Richmond, Va.) Sept. 17, 1863, p. 132. (Reference to a report from Mexico covering the period of August 15 through Aug. 26.).

> as the theatre of a foreign war, mingled with civil strife.[58]
>
> It appears that Texas, cut off as she has been by the exigencies of the war, is discharging the duties of an independent empire; but this in happy accord with the interest of the Confederacy. . . . She has sent an agent to Europe to look after her ordnance interests, and has also commissioned a special representative to Mexico, who will regulate with Maximilian the interests of trade across the Rio Grande.[59]

Friendship with Maximilian notwithstanding, border towns in Mexico were vulnerable to constant shifts in political/military power. The Texas military, responsible for the border defense of Texas and for supplying the Confederacy, found these shifts of power on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande posed a series of military threats:

> Flour and corn cannot be had at all on this side of the Rio Grande. All that we can get comes from the other side (Mexico) . . . Both of these articles have to be brought from the interior of Mexico . . .[60]
>
> . . . the difficulties now existing in the neighboring Mexican State of Tamaulipas have so wholly changed the commercial condition of affairs from what they were but a few months since, as to

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[58] Weekly Register (Lynchburg, Va.), Vol. I, 1864, p. 98. (Letter from William H. Seward, Dept. of State, Washington, D. C. dated November 28, 1863 to Major General N. P. Banks, Commanding the Department of the Gulf, Brownsville, Texas.)

[59] Ibid., p. 100. (Quoted from the Richmond Examiner.)

[60] U. S. War Dept., The War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. IV, pp. 154, 155.

> deprive us of many facilities upon which we could then . . . depend. The Civil War extends over almost the entire State, and renders intercourse and transportation precarious and unsafe . . .[61]

To the Mexican Americans, on the other hand, the war on the opposite bank of the Rio Grande represented an opportunity for flight from the unsatisfactory army life in Texas and/or the call of a conflicting set of loyalties. Many deserted from Fort Brown, Texas:

> . . . there are but two companies of infantry here. One (Captain Parker's) is composed wholly of Mexicans, and, like all their countrymen are susceptible to bribes and corruption, and cannot be depended upon.
>
> No less than 14 men from this company alone have deserted and passed over the river into Mexico, taking part in the difficulties now unhappily existing in Tamaulipas. The other company (Captain Buquor's) and Captain Marmion's artillery company are composed partly of Mexicans, . . . Five of these men (belonging to Captain Marmion's artillery company) have already also deserted and crossed into Mexico, . . .[62]

> The desertions from the command have been repeatedly reported by Lieutenant-Colonel Buchel, and since my arrival several have occurred. The condition of the troops is such, that I must candidly confess I am not greatly surprised at their yielding to the inducements offered by the parties on the other side of the river. Most of them are but scantily clothed and have received no pay; they know the state of the Government's credit quite as well as I do myself, and also the difficulties attendant upon procuring

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[61] Ibid., p. 164. [62] Ibid., p. 152.

> supplies. They are fully aware of the inadequacy of the force now here to resist a force such as the enemy are likely to land with, of the unpopularity of the Rio Grande Service, . . .[63]

Some desertions met less compassion:

> A poor father of a family, a Mexican, had been drafted into the ranks and was stationed with his regiment at a place called Comosellama, some fifty miles from Brownsville. He felt very anxious about his family and asked permission to come down and provide for his children. But his request was refused; so he came down one day without permission and after arranging some family affairs was preparing to return to his regiment, when he was seized as a deserter and sentenced to be shot.[64]

Different kinds of bicultural relationships flourished at Ft. Lancaster " . . . a beautiful place . . ."[65] among the W. P. Lane Rangers. (Rangers were strung along the frontier of Texas in semi-isolation for 350 miles.)

Mexican Americans were cooks:

> . . . the boys have been trafficking with a Mexican Train; and have corn bread, El Paso

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[63] Ibid., p. 165.

[64] Parisot, Reminiscences, p. 108.

[65] W. W. Heartsill, Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc. 1954), p. 48. Heartsill kept his war journal from April 18, 1861 to May 20, 1865 and printed it one page at a time on a ten dollar hand press July 1, 1876. A fascimile was put out in 1954.

> Onions and Dried Apples; besides have a new Mexican cook, the other one refused to leave Ft. Clark; this one's name is Thomas Riendo.[66]

They were teamsters and entertainers:

> . . . One of the Mexican teamsters brought into camp a live Musk Hog, which is now on exhibition. . . . Witnessed a novel way of holding down an ox, . . . a Mexican with great skill and unerring precision throws a larriett over his horns. . . .[67]

> Commissary stores are running very low at this post . . . we are on half-rations. Lt. Holcomb informed us that he has plenty of rations on the way. UMBRAS [Mexicans] speed them on!!![68]

A reprint from the camp newspaper, in Heartsill's diary, reports on a more complex bilingual-business partnership:

> Messrs Attaway and Jose Antonio (Mexican) have formed a copardnership [sic] and intend giving lessons in Spanish. Mr. Attaway is a young lawyer of some note, having acquired a thorough knowledge of Spanish from his long residence at Ft. Clark. Don J. Antonio is a Mexican gentlemen well educated in all branches of the language and is from what we can learn fully competent to teach. They merit a share of patronage.[69]

The Mexican Americans played and worked <u>with</u> the Anglos in this particular Civil War scene:

> The only music we have in camp is "done up" by Attaway performing on a fife, accompanied

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[66] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 49. [67] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 50.

[68] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 53. [69] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 59.

> by eight UMBRAS (Mexicans) with their Spanish songs and dances; this serves to "drive dull care away," and is relished by us all.[70]

However, the kinds of prejudices that continued to function against the Mexican Americans were not alleviated by these war experiences. The dynamics of prejudice can be exemplified by the reports of the battle of Ft. Craig, New Mexico, February 1862. (Brig. Gen. H. H. Sibley was in command of the Confederate forces on the Rio Grande and in all the territories of New Mexico and Arizona.)[71]

True, the battle of Ft. Craig mirrored the larger tragedy of the Civil War as Mexican Americans were pitted against Mexican Americans. There were Mexican Americans in Gen. Sibley's command and Mexican Americans garrisoned with the Union troops in the Fort.

This is Heartsill's emotional rendering of that battle:

> . . . the last mail from El Passo [sic] . . . Gen'l Sibley, with a portion of his Brigade has commenced his march against Fort Craig, which is garrisoned by 3000 Yankee's and Mexicans . . . a Confederate scout of a hundred and fifty men report through

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[70] Ibid., p. 51.

[71] U. S. War Dept., The War of Rebellion, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 157.

> inteligence [sic] from a party of Mexican deserters, that the Federals were preparing to abandon Ft. Craig and fall back to Santa Fe. We look for the next mail to bring inteligence of the defeat and capture of the Abolition Crusaders, and if the Texas "boys" can ever get a wipe at them, they will remind the "greasers" of the "Alamo" and as for the "Blue Coats" they had as well register in Heaven at once.[72]

This is a comment from Gov. Richard Lubbock:

> . . . even the Mexican contingent of the Union garrison at Ft. Craig enthusiastically sallied out from behind the fortifications to participate in the pursuit. . . .[73]

Ironically both Mexican Americans and Texans, to whom defeat had been unknown, looked south, to Mexico in crisis: The fall of Vicksburg in the summer of 1863 split the Confederacy in half, Texas, as part of the Trans-Mississippi Department[74] was thrown on her own resources. Gov. Lubbock foresaw that without help "less than twelve months will see this country irretrievably lost. . . ."[75] and an approach was made to the French and Mexican authorities to ascertain their "disposition towards our government and

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[72]Heartsill, Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days, pp. 66, 67.

[73]Lubbock, Six Decades, p. 398.

[74]The Trans-Mississippi Deptartment was composed of Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas.

people and what may we expect of them in the way of favor or assistance. . . ."[76]

Although Sam Houston died that summer of 1863, his plan for a Texas-Mexican Empire and/or Republic survived in some Texas leaders.[77]

Nevertheless, it was a little less than a year later, during the governorship of Pendleton Murrah[78] that those border areas, that had provided war-like tensions throughout Texas' life, were run-over by Mexican Americans in the pay of the Federals: An advance guard of fifty or sixty (of a mustered group of five hundred)[79] scoured the east bank of the Rio Grande from Brownsville to Roma.

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[76]Ibid., p. 495.

[77]Gen. Joe Shelby led a disbanded army group into exile in Mexico. Although one plan was to take service with either party in Mexico; he ultimately marched on with fifty men to Mexico City giving up his arms. This group settled in the Cordova Colony of Carlotta. William A. Albaugh III, The Confederate States Ordnance Works, Tyler, Texas 1861-1865 (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: The Stackpole Company, 1758), pp. 202-219.

[78]Murrah died in Monterey, Mexico, August 10, 1865, age 41. The Mexican Times, Sept. 23, 1865, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 3.

[79]Houston Daily Telegraph, April 19, 1864. From a letter to the Editor with a dateline from Matamoros, Mexico, March 27, 1864.

> During the three days that transpired between the evacuation of Brownsville by our forces and its occupation by the Yankees, the town was completely in the hands of the Mexicans, and nearly every American family of the place fled to Matamoros[80] for their lives, leaving their all behind. About half the families went back for Yankee protection . . . these families were all treated as enemies who had forsaken their all upon the approach of the Yankees. Wherever a dollar could be made by it, goods, houses, furniture, anything and everything were claimed as abandoned property.[81]

In Nueces County, two Mexican ranchers, Cecilio Balirio and Cesario Falcon, operated as Federals, and other Mexicans joined the Union attack on Laredo in March of 1864 but were defeated by "Mexicans" under Confederate Colonel Santos Benavides.[82]

In the vocabulary of the social scientist, this cursory evidence would indicate a range of participation for Mexican Americans in the Civil War in Texas as military or quasi-military persons. Participation (examined from the point-of-view of the receiving society) is a measure of the extent and degree of participation and the reception given

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[80]Matamoros was in possession of a Juarez government at this time. Loyal National Union Journal, April 2, 1864.

[81]Houston Daily Telegraph, April 19, 1864.

[82]Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier, p. 47. (Note: Taylor's book does deal with the interrelations of Anglos and Mexicans during this period.)

by the receiving society.[83]

If the word--participation--characterized their military roles during this period, the word--separation--characterizes the Mexican Americans' educational position.

The separation of the Mexican American child from the other Texas children in school during the period 1850 through 1870 seems so total as to make the history of the common school in Texas not related at all to these children.[84]

In terms of this study it is possible to state that there were no acculturative/assimilative forces functioning for the children of Mexican Americans during the Civil War years except for those few children who attended parochial schools, Catholic and Presbyterian, run by missionaries. (See material on Melinda Rankin's acculturative efforts which Mexican American children in the Brownsville area, Chapter III, pages 79, 80.)

This enrollment in private, parochial school was,

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[83]Gino Germani, "Migration and Acculturation," Handbook for Social Research in Urban Areas, ed. by Philip Hauser (Paris: UNESCO, 1965), p. 164.

[84]This probably explains the absence of any mention of Mexican Americans in one hundred and fifty pages of that seminal work of Texas educational history by Frederick Eby, The Development of Education in Texas (New York: MacMillan, 1925).

however, a part of a substantial tradition in Texas at this time. An educational paradox is that the Catholic schools were run by highly educated and dedicated European nuns and those Mexican American children that attended were frequently integrated with the children of upper class Mexicans and Americans.

The U. S. Census of 1850 shows that Bexar, a county in Texas (the county seat in San Antonio) had this educational profile:[85]

	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Annual Income
Public	1	1	16	$ 180
Private	3	4	98	$2130

San Antonio had approximately 6,000 inhabitants, largely Mexican, with the exception of a few hundred families of Irish, French and German descent. On Sept. 14, 1851, the Ursulines, nine sisters, two novices and two postulates, "moved" by Bishop Odin from their convent in New Orelans, came to open a boarding and day school.[86]

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[85]Abstracted from the 7th Census, Statistics of Texas, pp. 508-511.

[86]Carlos E. Castaneda, The Church in Texas Since Independence 1836-1950, Vol. VII of Our Catholic Heritage in Texas 1519-1936 (Austin, Texas: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, 1958), p. 285.

On arrival they found a house

> . . . wanting in everything except spiders and scorpions . . . (they slept on mattresses on the floor for six weeks) There was not a whole pane in the windows and . . . neither blinds nor curtains.[87]

This, the reality of almost every parochial school venture, at this time, proved no deterrent: the Ursuline Academy opened two months later with a register that included both American and Mexican American pupils.[88]

This well-placed enrollment[89] was to protect it from attack by the Know-Nothings in 1854 (although there was a substantial contingent in San Antonio--see Chapter III, p. 100). Just two years later, Mother Joseph Aubert, originally from Brignoles, France, wrote that the community had expanded to eighteen members and the boarding school had students coming from Spanish, German, French and British

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[87]P. Parisot, and Ch. Smith, History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of San Antonio, Texas (San Antonio: Carrico & Bowen, 1897), pp. 115-117.

[88]The school register lists Bradlys, Bracketts, Builbeaus, Billips, Rodriguez, Lyons, Ritcheys, Pascals, Flores, Chavez, Cassianos, Campbells. . . . Parisot and Smith, History of the Diocese, p. 119.

[89]"The daughters of the leaders were boarders in the convent." Ibid., p. 121.

families.[90] "The Day School," she explained " . . . consists mainly of Mexicans who are now loyal American citizens. I love all these children," she added, "they are so affectionate and responsive to kindness."[91]

The Ursulines expanded their European faculty in 1863 and in 1866 laid the cornerstone of an Academy and opened a free day school for the benefit of Mexican children.[92] The Academy maintained itself during the Civil War, although there was some suffering intensified by the Confederate blockage. Two anecdotes from that period reveal the dedication of the Catholic religious community and the very real connections with Mexico:

> During the bloackade . . . the day scholars had to pass the soldiers' camp when coming to school and returning in the afternoon . . . Father Amandus, a Benedictine, came everyday and piloted the little band.
>
> As he always wore his soutane, the soldiers one day asked him "When would he don the crinoline," he answered, "When you raise the blockade." His repartee evoked a loud cheer, and thenceforth he and his little band passed unmolested.[93]

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[90]Prominent among these were the Misses Carvajal, daughters of General Carvajal who had been a friend and protege of Stephen F. Austin. Ibid., p. 119.

[91]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, p. 292.

[92]Ibid., p. 292.

[93]Parisot and Smith, History of the Diocese, p. 121.

During the war, the Sisters had $14,000 in Confederate money which comprised their entire fortune. This capital would have gone the way of all Confederate money but for the ex-Governor of Saltillo, Mexico, Mr. Madero:[94]

> He took the money, disposed of it most advantageously and supplied the sisters and pupils with commodities from Mexico.
>
> At the close of the war he returned the balance in sound money, with an additional $200 from his own pocket.[95]

In 1868 Mother St. Joseph Aubert, "realizing the need for a Catholic School in the border town among the Mexican people she had learned to love in San Antonio"[96] left for Laredo (infra).

The Catholics (the Society of Mary) planned St. Mary's College in San Antonio for boys and young men. In September 1852 a school was opened on the west side of Military Plaza: "A room was rented on the second floor of a livery stable, crude school furniture improvised . . . a boarding and day school was opened."[97] Again, there is

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[94]His daughter was a student in the Ursuline Academy. Ibid., p. 119.

[95]Ibid., p. 121.

[96]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, p. 294.

[97]Parisot and Smith, History of the Diocese, p. 133.

a mix of Mexican and American students.[98] At the close of the session of 1854-55 the attendance at this school was estimated at 150 pupils (of whom 40 were boarders)[99] enabling a transfer to larger quarters.

During the Civil War, this school had difficulty procuring food and obtaining school materials and in 1866 cholera broke out in San Antonio. At St. Mary's precautions included dismissing all the day scholars, the boarders remained, one of whom, the son of General Escobeda, a Mexican revolutionary,[100] suffered slight prostrations. St. Mary's continued to grow and expanded physically and intellectually[101] until it divided: St. Mary's became a day school and St. Louis' a college.[102]

A similar educational profile--a heavier investment (and, one might add, a greater commitment) in private

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[98]Among the first boarders were Mr. Doyle, John and William Wallace, R. and G. Pereida and the Flores brothers. Ibid.

[99]Ibid., p. 135.

[100]See footnote 55 this chapter.

[101]The school was bilingual, at the onset, by 1876 the curriculum included Grammar, English, Elocution, History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Drawing, Surveying, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry. Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 300, 301.

[102]Parisot and Smith, History of the Diocese, pp. 137-139.

schooling than in public schooling--emerges from a section lumped together as Cameron, Starr and Webb counties in the U. S. Census of 1850.[103]

	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Annual Income
Public	10	10	119	not returned
Private	12	12	296	not returned

These three counties--with their county seats of Brownsville, Rio Grande City and Laredo, respectively, had large Mexican American populations. This school population was serviced by parochial schools. In Brownsville, for example, the educational "competition" was not between public and private school at all, but between the Protestant Seminary opened by Melinda Rankin (see pages 79 and 80, Chapter III) and Bishop Odin's Catholic Convent, run by the equally dedicated Sisters of the Congregation of the Incarnate Word and Blessed Sacrament. They first found "lodgings in a small one story warehouse, more like a barn whose door they had to tie with their apron strings while waiting for a modest house being built for them."[104] On March 20, 1853 the cornerstone of a convent and the Villa

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[103]Abstracted from the Seventh Census, Statistics of Texas, p. 508.

[104]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 302, 303.

Marie of the Incarnate Word, a boarding and day school for girls, was laid.

These Catholic nuns fought for very survival at the frontier:

> . . . Physical discomfort, difficult climatic conditions, cyclones, tropical epidemics and Indian attacks combined to make those early days almost a nightmare. Brownsville was the last outpost of civilization in South Texas. A postulate was captured and consumed by Indians on her way from Laredo; yellow fever left only one Sister to nurse the other three . . . frequently hurricanes swept from the Gulf over the land and not infrequently left them without a roof over their heads.[105]

Isolation from the mainstream meant that these parochial schools, both Catholic and Presbyterian, were somewhat protected from the financial impact of the Civil War but not from the political North/South divisiveness. A see/saw effect emerged as first the South, then the North, then the South took and re-took Brownsville:

Miss Melinda Rankin, for example, returned north in the summer of 1861, only to find that Rev. Hiram Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trustees of the Rio Grande Female Institute had accused her of staying in "enemy's country" too long and being out of sympathy with

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[105]Ibid., p. 303.

the Southern Confederacy.[106]

> I replied that I wished to retain the seminary for the purposes for which I founded it--namely the education of Mexican children--[107]

Nevertheless she was ousted and she decided to move over to Matamoros, Mexico, as she had in the past, and where she remained until March 1863. Brownsville was then taken by Federal forces and the seminary building returned to Miss Rankin. However, the Seminary had been occupied by Confederate offices and in their retreat they blew-up part of the school which first had to be repaired.[108]

On April 1, 1864 a news story and advertisement in Vol. I, No. 5, The Loyal National Union Journal[109] indicated that the:

> Rio Grande Female Institute which had been closed for about three years will be opened for admission of pupils on Monday next, under the Superintendence of its former principal Miss M. Rankin. . . .

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[106]John C. Rayburn, "Melinda Rankin--Crusader of the Rio Grande," Journal of Presbyterian History (March 1962), Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 167-169.

[107]Rankin, Twenty Years, op. cit., p. 97.

[108]Rayburn, "Melinda Rankin--Crusader", op. cit., p. 170.

[109]The masthead of the newspaper indicates the victors: Mexicans in the pay of the Federals over-ran this border area, March 27, 1864. (See this chapter, page 140).

> Instruction will be given in all the branches of education usually taught in high schools. Terms of tuition as usual, per month $2.00.

But once again Federal troops were withdrawn and Confederate forces returned;[110] this time Miss Rankin departed permanently for New Orleans and duties as a teacher in a colored school.[111]

Laredo, the county seat of Webb County--part of this triumvirate of Cameron, Starr and Webb--had, in 1871, an area of 1200 square miles[112] and a population of approximately 2,000, largely Mexicans.[113] In the early summer of 1868 Mother St. Joseph Aubert, an Ursuline, arrived with $200 to start a school in an abandoned convent. Ten months later a half-dozen Ursuline sisters took possession of their convent school.[114]

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[110]This was but a preliminary to a North/South schism in the Presbyterian Church that gained in acrimony and revenge during Reconstruction. Paul H. Buck, The Road to Reunion, 1865-1900 (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), pp. 62-70.

[111]Rayburn, "Melinda Rankin--Crusader", op. cit., p. 170.

[112]The Texas Almanac for 1871 (Galveston: Richardson & Co.), p. 158.

[113]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 294, 295.

[114]Ibid.

Starr County, with an area of 2100 square miles had a substantial group of Mexicans in the population of 4,000. These were of two distinct classes: one--a group having made "fortunes by stock raising" another--the labor force earning $8.00 per month.[115] There was a Catholic Church (with 400 sittings)[116] at Roma and one or two schools there--one, a Spanish School.[117]

Nueces County, besides having always had a substantial Mexican population of every class, is perhaps a special "case" with a particular history for Mexican Americans: By the opening of the Texas Revolution in 1835, every foot of land in Nueces County had been granted in large tracts to Mexicans who pastured their herds upon them.[118] In 1846, this area, lying east of the Rio Grande, and west of the Nueces River, occasioned the War of 1846 between Mexico and the United States. Two years before the

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[115]The Texas Almanac for 1871, op. cit., p. 148

[116]Ninth Census The Statistics of the Population of the United States compiled From the Original Returns of the Ninth Census, June 1, 1870, p. 555.

[117]Texas Almanac for 1867 (Galveston: W. Richardson & Co.), p. 158.

[118]Paul Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier, op. cit., p. 179.

Civil War, all but two of the original land grants[119] had passed into American or American-European hands.[120]

> As early as 1857 a private school was opened for white children in Corpus Christi . . . a succession of private schools conducted frequently by men of unusually good education, continued to provide the principle opportunities for education for white children. The history of education in Nueces County of children who are not "white" is comparatively short.[121]

In 1866, the Sisters of Divine Providence set up a mission school in Corpus Christi, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross were teaching in Corpus Christi in 1870.[122] Early in the year of 1871, Sister Mary a Spanish-speaking member of the Brownsville community, was sent to teach catechism to the Mexican children. By September, the school was crowded with Spanish and English-speaking children from all classes.[123]

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[119] Ibid. This is the area out of which the King Ranch was carved.

[120] "Among the traditions still whispered among Mexicans and Americans . . . are the stories that in one way or another--by chicane, by creating alarm for their personal safety, or by even stronger measures, many of the Mexican property owners were 'run out' of the country and their lands obtained cheaply." Taylor, op. cit., p. 184.

[121] Ibid., p. 191.

[122] Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 313, 321.

[123] Ibid., p. 308.

> Not only did the Sisters give religious and secular instruction, but they also cultivated the fine arts. To the refined young women of a century ago, painting, music and fancy needlework were as distinct marks of gentility as riding and fencing were to the young gentleman of that day.[124]

Boys and girls were separated in school. "The Catholic schools which were opened almost immediately after the close of the Civil War admitted Mexican boys with white boys . . . Mexican and colored girls attended classes together. Not many Mexicans attended these schools."[125] Although the public schools were founded in the early seventies, not many Mexicans attended the public schools either.[126]

El Paso County, was another area (9,450 square miles, equal to ten ordinary sized counties) with a large Mexican American population--estimated to be between 4 and 5,000 by the Texas Almanac of 1867, settled along and in the valley country. The other occupants of this sparsely populated county were some 400 Americans in Franklin, the county seat, and scattered in small farms in the valley;

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[124] Ibid.

[125] Taylor, American-Mexican Frontier, p. 192.

[126] Ibid.

Pueblo Indians in Isleta, and in 1871, some U. S. troops at Fort Bliss.

"The Mexicans carry on farming in their own awkward style, seemingly incapable of adopting the American improvements . . . but the great value of the bottom lands . . . and their susceptibility of irrigation . . . is now attracting attention."[127]

Both the Texas Almanacs for 1867 and 1871 give evidence of three Catholic Churches and three Spanish schools in this county.

There is this pattern of on-going educational responsibility, even dedication, to their Catholic co-religionists:

The convent in Brownsville undertook the establishment of a foundation in Victoria[128] with new recruits from Europe. Twelve members set out for Texas on Jan. 31, 1866 on a French transport on its way to Mexico. Enroute four died from yellow fever. Nevertheless, Nazareth Academy opened in Victoria a year later with 55 students and a curriculum

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[127]Texas Almanac for 1867, op. cit., p. 103.

[128]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 304, 305. (In 1850, Victoria had two private schools, three teachers and 71 pupils. 7th Census, Statistics of Texas, pp. 510, 511.)

which included music, painting, penmanship and needlework in addition to the three "R's". Language instruction was given in French and German.[129]

Victoria, in 1871, had 2,500 inhabitants, eight churches, one male and one female Academy, one convent school, numerous common schools and the Nazareth Academy![130]

This Catholic Academy became part of the community system in 1874: i.e., a number of parents could petition for a public school in their community. If granted, a portion of the public funds assigned for education was given to the school in accord with the number of scholastics. The Board of Examiners conducted an examination of the teachers enabling them to teach in the public school system. The staff of the Academy qualified for certification and received the corresponding state teachers' salary for four months a year.[131]

(From this Victoria Community, Houses of the Order were founded at Houston in 1873 and at Shiner in 1879.)[132]

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[129]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 305, 306.

[130]The Texas Almanac for 1871, op. cit., p. 158.

[131]Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, pp. 307, 308.

[132]Ibid., p. 311.

Public education did not flourish in Texas during the Civil War period (infra). However, even where there is some evidence of schools surviving this period: In Nacogdoches, 20 schools;[133] "schools in all parts of the county, probably near 20."[134] Mexican children were excluded.

Sister M. Joseph arrived in Nacogdoches, one of the oldest settled sections in Eastern Texas, in April 1871 and took over the abandoned building of Nacogdoches College "to teach the long neglected children of the old town of Nacogdoches."[135] Three years later the community of the Sisters of Holy Cross moved on to Clarksville, but Mother Joseph chose to remain at El Moral among the "poor children of the old Spanish-American outpost."[136] For nearly forty years, Mother Joseph taught in

> . . . the frontier town founded over a century before by their forefathers from Mexico, . . . the now neglected and despised Mexicans.[137]

The denigration of the Mexican children deepened

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[133] Texas Almanac for 1867, op. cit., p. 143.

[134] Texas Almanac for 1871, op. cit., p. 139.

[135] Castaneda, Catholic Heritage, op. cit., p. 322.

[136] Ibid. [137] Ibid.

the commitment of some members of the religious communities.

However, the simple evidence of the church's dedication to the schooling of Mexican Americans--although singular and significant--is actually part of a broader picture of education in Texas during this period. The secular mainstream had not yet actually "bought" the idea of a responsibility for "public education." There was really no general vision of "public schooling" in Texas, yet. Education was perceived as either religious or private.

A brief recapitulation of education in Texas, up to Reconstruction reveals a lack of secular involvement:

--The first education law of 1839, when Texas was still a Republic and had a form of plantation life that was rural and widely scattered, left most Texans completely indifferent.[138]

--The annexation of Texas in 1845 and the rewriting of the Texas Constitution (given impetus by the sweep of educational reform in other states) planted a seed.[139] It was

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[138]Eby, Development, op. cit., pp. 91, 92.

[139]The first section of the constitution imposed upon the legislature the duty of making suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools. Eby, Development, p. 104.

a seed that grew little[140] and did not fall on fertile ground. (Parents looked on education as either a religious or private concern.)

--The first common school law was passed in February of 1854 (as a result of the fear of Northern-Abolitionist ideas penetrating Texas schools) and there was enthusiasm and support; but by 1856, when a second school law was passed, private school interests were able to control the available financial resources.

--The system in 1858 allowed parents to form new schools or patronize existing ones; a state allotment, per child, was paid at the close of the school year.[141]

--By 1859 "the mode of distribution was changed and the monies directly applied to the poor and indigent; and if this class does not now receive the benefit of its disbursement, ignorance or wilfulness can be the only cause.[142] However:

> Nearly one-half of the two millions appropriated, the interest of which is set apart for purposes of education, has now been loaned to railroad

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[140] Ibid., p. 105.

[141] This compromise measure required capital to sustain teacher salaries, etc. Eby, Development, p. 125.

[142] Texas, Governors' Messages: Gov. Hardin R. Runnels, Address to the Eighth Legislature, Austin: John Marshall and Co., 1859, p. 6.

> companies . . . it is useless to deny . . . a feeling of insecurity . . . that grows out of the apprehension that the companies will not meet their engagements.[143]

(Under the policy of grants to railroads, every alternate section surveyed by the railroad companies was to become a part of the state permanent fund for public free schools. If payment was not made at the maturity of their paper, the law required that the railroads sell sixteen sections a mile.)[144]

--By 1861-1862 the total loan outstanding to the railroads was $1,753,317. Financial support for the schools, from this source, dissipated during the war as the roadbeds declined, the income of the roads decreased, and the companies were compelled to default in the payment of their annual interest. Other companies attempted to pay in depreciated currency.[145] Gov. Lubbock attempted to extend the period for repayment.[146]

--By 1861 public support for the common school dissipated; that year of secession, only 12 of 124 organized

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[143] Ibid.

[144] Lubbock, Six Decades, op. cit., p. 339.

[145] Eby, Development, p. 150.

[146] Lubbock, Six Decades, p. 339.

counties for the common school system reported their scholastic population. The common school fund was $4,520.10 in specie[147] and 62 cents per capita was distributed for the last time.[148]

--Government support foundered as the exigencies of war demanded hard money, some of the common school fund was in U. S. bonds useful for the purchase of arms. The governor transferred $1,285,374 to the military board.[149]

> . . . In 1861 . . . they took and used the very fund itself . . . They . . . were in want of some money to support their state government, when carrying on the war, and they seized the school fund and used it.[150]

The state organization of education ceased to function. "The public school system was not, however, seriously missed, for it had never been deeply rooted in the affection and habits of the people."[151]

The Mexican American position in the educational picture in Texas up through the Civil War can be perceived within the total context of education in Texas. There was

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[147] Ibid., p. 351 (footnote).

[148] Eby, Development, p. 150.

[149] Ibid., p. 151.

[150] Texas, Governors' Messages: Ex-Gov. E. J. Davis to the Citizens of Travis County, Oct. 4, 1880, p. 5.

[151] Eby, Development, p. 150.

scant support for public education. The support for private schooling came from the wealthier segment of the population and precluded Mexicans, for the most part. Parochial schools provided the educational base for some Mexican children. As many of these parochials schools enrolled Anglo children, these schools could be considered integrated. Otherwise, Mexican children were separated from Anglo children and this pattern was to continue past Reconstruction.

CHAPTER V

ETHNIC DEMOGRAPHY

It is the purpose of this study to present an appraisal of the role of the school as an acculturating agency of Mexican Americans in Texas. Acculturation studies have been largely confined to the anthropological and sociological disciplines and it is necessary to use terminology defined by authorities in those disciplines to assay this concept. Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups.[1]

That element of continuous first-hand contact will be examined in this chapter. What in current parlance is called de facto segregation and might be termed separate spaces kept the Anglo group from continuous one-to-one contact with the Mexican American in post-Reconstruction

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[1]Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), p. 9.

Texas. If there is little or no continuous first-hand contact between two groups having different cultures in what manner can acculturation take place? The institutions of the dominant society can function as an acculturating agency teaching the ways of behavior (including roles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge) to perform as a participant in the society.

This role of the school, as the purveyor of the dominant ideational and value systems of the society, was not very clearly developed in Reconstruction Texas, perhaps because the schools themselves, as a public institution were only just being defined. That this definition would come to approximate compulsory schooling in the North, was not yet clear in Texas, in 1865. Nor was it clear to the Texans, who still harbored delusions of "life as usual", that having lost the war, they were going to have to accommodate and change their institutions, to survive the peace.

For many Texans, Reconstruction was, in fact more chaotic and harder to adjust to than the Civil War itself: Texans, proverbially independent, had now to accept local and national leadership of those who had been anti-secessionists or loyal unionists all along. In addition, there was neither real understanding or acceptance of

northern ideas of liberation and education for the Blacks. (Racial divisiveness was to intensify the high crime and death rate which hitherto had been a concomitant of border conflict and frontier strife.)

In the summer of 1865, President Johnson appointed A. J. (Jack) Hamilton, Provisional Governor of Texas and issued a proclamation that all slaves were free and the previous bond between master and slave was to become that between employer and free laborer. A Constitutional Convention called for January 8, 1866 set in motion the machinery of government from those elements of the population who had been loyal to the union.

The Texas state government was reconstituted, first, from Conservative forces: J. W. Throckmorton was elected in August and when the Eleventh Legislature convened it was overwhelmingly conservative, although there was discord in the majority party.[2]

Although political power, the frontier,[3] financial debt and "law and order" occupied center stage, education,

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[2]Charles William Ramsdell, Ph.D., Reconstruction in Texas (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1964), p. 114.

[3]The frontier, 1865-1866, north to south, was in constant terror and became almost depopulated with no one assuming responsibility. Ibid., p. 84.

in general, attracted attention because it embodied some of the racial problems that Texans were confronting.

On November 12, 1866 an Act Regulating Public Schools[4] was passed. This law was, for the most part, a throw-back to the Texas School Law of 1854, which had been a compromise between public school and private school sectors, it allowed for the designation of private schools as public schools.

The section that was significantly different--indicated racial discomfort--and was a foreshadowing of the only kinds of adjustment that Texans would make to pressure to "integrate" the schools. There would be spatial separation.

Large tracts of public lands were to be granted for the endowment of the school system. The permanent school fund was to be used exclusively for the education of white scholastics. Although the law empowered the legislature to levy a tax for educational purposes, the taxes paid by white citizens were exclusively for the education of whites and the amount collected from "Africans"

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[4]H. P. N. Gammel, Laws of Texas (Austin, Texas: Gammel Book Company, 1898), Vol. V, pp. 1088-92.

was to be devoted to their education.[5]

The 14th Amendment to the Constitution fared worse: It was, declared the Texas House Committee, dictated by "passion and malignancy" and the amendment was vetoed.

Retribution came swiftly: On March 2, 1867, during the last session of the 39th Congress in Washington, the First Reconstruction Act was passed, which put Texas,[6] with other southern states, under military control. This was not to be lifted until a constitution had been framed and ratified by the voters and approved by Congress. When the State Legislature adopted the 14th Amendment the state would be readmitted to the Union and its senators and representatives to Congress. The existing state government was deemed provisional.[7]

Once again power was at stake and before re-entry into the union, Texas was to be torn and almost split apart. (Among the Establishment group that had always governed

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[5]Eby, Development, pp. 155, 156.

[6]General Sheridan was made Commander of the new Fifth Military District, consisting of Louisiana and Texas. General Charles Griffin, already at Galveston, remained as Commander of the District of Texas.

[7]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, p. 147.

Texas and continued to be active, in-fighting was to involve brother against brother.)

Now, for the first time, racial minorities and "outsiders" from the north were to be involved in the political maneuvers of those who sought leadership roles in the new government. Radicals and Republicans sought to build power bases from Black organization and political participation--the Union League was organized. (In specific counties, Mexican Americans were similarly courted.) The Democrats and Conservatives attempted to block these coalitions at any cost, resorting to threat, coercion, force and murder when necessary--the Ku Klux Klan emerged in opposition to the Union League.[8] (Again, like the Blacks, Mexican Americans were sometimes killed.)

These brutal struggles scarred the southwest and left large numbers of dead within the Texas borders.

Ex-Governor Pease, who had been opposed to secession, and was now an advocate of Negro suffrage, emerged as an alternate leadership-figure to Throckmorton (his personal friend) who was deposed by the military acting under the powers of the Second Supplementary Reconstruction

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[8] Ibid., p. 192.

Act.[9] Ex-Gov. A. J. Hamilton returned to Texas as an associate justice of the State Supreme Court on the side of Pease against his brother Morgan Hamilton.[10]

To Pease, under chafing military surveillance, was left the problem of reorganizing the state from union sympathizers . . . nearly 1/3 of the county offices were vacant and some districts were without peace officers.[11] This problem of governance was compounded by increased lawlessness and violence.[12]

Political corruption dominated the counties. Pro-union or pro-secessionists groups used whatever institutions they could hold to force out the opposition:

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[9] Ibid., p. 163. [10] Ibid., p. 180.

[11] Ibid., p. 175.

[12] Pease reporting to a Special Committee on Lawlessness and Violence in Texas noted: "It is a lamentable fact that over 100 cases of homicide have occurred in Texas within the last 12 months, while not one-tenth of the perpetrators have been arrested; and less than one-twentieth of them have been tried.

"Within the last few months United States officers and soldiers have been killed while in the discharge of their duties, and in no case have those who committed these offenses been tried or punished . . ." His report added that there were 172 murders reported from 70 (or about one-half) the counties, 225 assaults with intent to kill, for the year 1867. "Report of Special Committee on Lawlessness and Violence in Texas" (40th Congress, 2d. Session, Mis. Doc. No. 127, House of Representatives, 1867-1868).

In Fannin County, the secessionists used the machinery of the courts to come down on union men.[13] In other districts[14] secessionists were excluded from voter registration. In El Paso, 4-5,000 population almost entirely Mexican,[15] W. W. Mills one of three or four men in the county who had voted against secession, formed a Republican Party and ran against Major Joseph Smith, a popular Democrat to represent El Paso at the Constitutional Convention.[16] Racial politics came into play: Mills "badgered" Smith into making a racist remark. "I then suggested to the Mexican audience that if he had that much race prejudice, he would not do to represent them."[17] Major Smith withdrew and Mills was elected unanimously.

An over-all aura of disaffection laced with touches of brutal politics confounded Pease's attempts to organize the state and to enforce the criminal laws:

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[13]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, p. 189.

[14]Ibid., p. 193 footnote.

[15]The Texas Almanac for 1867, op. cit., pp. 102, 103.

[16]W. W. Mills, Forty Years at El Paso, 1901 (No publisher listed).

[17]Ibid., p. 94.

> . . . a large majority of the white population . . . are embittered against the government by their defeat in arms and loss of their slaves. . . . They regard the legislation of Congress on the subject of reconstruction as unconstitutional and hostile to their interests, and consider the government now existing here, under the authority of the United States as an usurpation of their rights. They look upon the enfranchisement of their late slaves and the disfranchisement of portions of their own class as an act of insult and oppression.
>
> It is by no means charged that all who took part in the rebellion participate in or approve the many outrages and acts of violence which are perpetrated in Texas without punishment. A large marjority disapprove and deplore this state of affairs; few of them, however, give any active aid in the enforcement of the criminal laws.[18]

In 1868 Texas was still unreconstructed and in limbo: Louisiana had moved on toward re-union but Texas remained the sole state in the Fifth Military District. Without a ratified state constitution she was not permitted to take part in the presidential election between Grant and Seymour because states not reorganized under the Reconstruction Acts and readmitted to the Union were to be excluded from the electoral college.[19] At the Reconstruction Convention which started in Austin, June 1, 1868, a bloody battle developed between Jack Hamilton and E. J. Davis before a

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[18]"Report of Special Committee on Lawlessness and Violence in Texas", op. cit., House Mis. Doc. No. 127.

[19]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, pp. 230-236.

constitution was framed.[20] Jack Hamilton won this bout but Davis, with a Black and military power base was to become the next Governor of Texas.

W. W. Mills, who wrote a local history of the period,[21] and was to marry Jack Hamilton's daughter, reported that the Austin Convention had ninety delegates, only ten of whom were Democrats.

> There were nine colored delegates, a large contingent of carpetbaggers, and several new recruits to the Republican party who claimed from the day of their conversion to be more "loyal" to that party than any of us. But about one-half of the body were able, representative, old-time Texans, who had taken the Union side of the secession question and had become Republicans.[22]

What emerged ultimately from the stormy double sessions was a constitution that enabled Texas, after nine years of separation, to rejoin the Union, although the

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[20]Mills, Forty Years at El Paso, p. 96.

[21]In his text, Mills was on good terms with his Mexican constituency:

> "Common trials and dangers united the two races as one family, and the fact that one man was a Mexican and another an American was seldom mentioned, and I believe as seldom thought about.
>
> "Spanish was the language of the country, but many of our Mexican friends spoke English well, and expressively made up words or phrases of a blending of both languages."

Mills, Forty Years at El Paso, p. 27.

[22]Ibid., p. 95.

strife and devisiveness of political and social upheaval was not yet done.[23]

The Constitution of 1869 provided for "the most highly centralized system of education Texas has ever had."[24] A free public school system was born. Although this system was to suffer a crib-death in 1873 a significant precedent was established. Article IX, Section I of the Constitution read:

> It shall be the duty of the Legislature of this State, to make suitable provisions for the support and maintenance of a system of Public Free Schools, for the gratuitous instructions of all the inhabitants of this state between the ages of six and eighteen years.[25]

An office of Superintendent of public instruction, having almost absolute management of the schools, was authorized. School attendance was made compulsory for four months each year.[26]

Compulsory school attendance was, to most Texans, at this time, onerous and objectionable, as was the so

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[23]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, pp. 242-261.

[24]Eby, Development, p. 158.

[25]Eby, Source Materials, p. 516.

[26]Eby, Development, p. 158.

called Radical School Law passed in August of 1870 around which there continued to be intense racial and political conflict. In part, the result of the "iron will" with which the radicals and Gov. Davis set about redeeming the school fund and organizing the system.[27]

The Law of 1870 provided funding from the permanent school fund plus 1/4 of the annual revenues from general taxation and local taxation of such amount "as will be necessary to provide the necessary school houses in each district and insure the education of all the scholastic inhabitants both white and black." A poll tax of one dollar was to be exacted from every voter between the ages of twenty-one and sixty years of age.[28]

The National Bureau of Education reported for 1870 that Texas was the darkest field educationally in the United States. The radicals could point out that after more than thirty years there was not a single state-supported school in Texas, and the statistics indicated that 17 per cent of the white population above ten years of age and 90 per cent of the negroes were illiterate;[29] nevertheless the school

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[27]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, p. 303.

[28]Eby, Development, p. 159.

[29]Ibid., p. 157.

law of 1870 was treated with indifference and few schools were organized.

Off in the wings, and deliberately[30] out of the range of the growing political opposition to Gov. Davis policies, Dr. Barnas Sears, head of the Peabody Education Fund[31] was developing a conciliatory educational philosophy that would allow for the growth of separate education in Texas.

What followed, at the scene, in the midst of resentment, was the even more drastic school law passed in April 1871. In retrospect this law might be seen as a premature attempt to professionalize the Texas school system. Although the increasingly incensed Texans did not see it that way: Almost all of the new school regulations were perceived as offensive, as "robbery" or as a violation of parents' rights.[32]

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[30]Dr. Sears visited Texas in 1870 but found the school laws and the sentiment unsatisfactory.

[31]The Peabody Education Fund was a two million dollar private philanthrophy for the support of southern public education for the "good of the whole country." J. L. M. Curry, A Brief Sketch of George Peabody and a history of The Peabody Education Fund (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), p. 24.

[32]Eby, Development, p. 163.

This bill provided for a State Board of Education consisting of the superintendent of public instruction, the governor and the attorney general. The board was empowered to appoint and fix the compensation of teachers and to provide for their examination; to define the course of study and to select the kind of apparatus and books to be used.[33]

The board was limited, by law, from preventing the directors of the local school districts from providing for spatial separation of the students.[34] The directors of each school district also had the authority to levy a tax of up to one per cent for the purpose of maintaining and building schools.[35]

The new school law not only made school attendance compulsory for at least four months of each year but student truancy made a parent or guardian guilty of a possible misdemeanor and subject to a fine of up to twenty-five dollars for each offense.[36]

Before this school plan was operative, a Taxpayer's Convention led by Ex-Governor Pease, consolidated the

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[33]Eby, Sources, p. 534. [34]Ibid.

[35]Ibid., p. 535. [36]Ibid.

opposition and advised the people of the state to refuse to pay the one per cent property tax for the support of the schools.[37]

What was involved in Texas, as in the South as a whole, was a revolution, around "progress" the rallying cry of Reconstruction, and a counter-revolution developing out of the heavy burden of taxation necessary to finance changes in Southern political and social patterns.

There was a staggering rise in the cost of government in the South, partly because of depreciated currency and the subsequent increase in prices, partly because of the need for restoration and rebuilding,[38] and partially because of the South's perceived need to maintain separate spaces for those of color. Reconstruction efforts involved also a shift in the perception of government's role and responsibilities toward the citizenry. Texans were not yet able to "see" this position as justified. Much of the opposition and distaste for the radical school bills stemmed from resistance to a tax for "public education.[39]

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[37]Eby, Development, pp. 159-164.

[38]Robert Selph Henry, The Story of Reconstruction (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 421.

[39]Eby, Development, p. 163.

(In the South, generally, white taxpayers objected to what some of them considered the unnecessary and uncalled-for burden of education of Negro children.)[40]

Texas, in the six years since the close of the war, had been in continuous political upheaval, an examination of other Southern states would reveal similar political turmoil. At this point, 1871, with Governor Edmund J. Davis at the helm, it shared its political fortunes with the Radical led states of South Carolina, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas.[41]

In Texas, this was insecure control dependent on the loyalty of the Negroes and the military: Davis had no confidence in the disposition of the white majority to abide by the laws, especially those establishing the educational, civil and political rights of the Negroes. He utilized force, compulsion and control of the news media; the backlash that developed was to wipe out whatever gains were achieved during his administration. In education, these might be seen as considerable:

Col. Jacob C. DeGress was named the first State

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[40]Henry, Reconstruction, p. 432.

[41]Ibid., p. 421.

Superintendent of Education in Texas. DeGress, a Union Army veteran, had come to Texas in June of 1865, and had been involved with the Freedman's Bureau for the eastern district of Texas, prior to his appointment. His perceptions of the educational situation were those of a northerner:

> The public free schools opened on the 4th ultimo, [Sept. 4, 1871] for the first time in the history of Texas . . . it is with great difficulty that houses can be procured for the colored schools in the state, . . . and it has been even more difficult to find persons willing to teach such schools, as they have in all cases been ostracized from society.[42]

There was violent opposition to the education of blacks in the entire South. This sometimes took the form of burning schoolhouses, and threatening, assaulting and whipping teachers. Usually, the teachers so visited were of Northern birth, but the Ku Klux Klan, threatened women as well as men, Democrats and Republicans, even in one case, a one-armed ex-Confederate soldier.[43]

De Gress estimated that the scholastic population of the state was about 235,000 (Gov. Davis' estimation was 228,355.)[44] The actual number that received instruction

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[42]Eby, Sources, pp. 543, 544.

[43]Henry, Story of Reconstruction, p. 432.

[44]Texas, Governors' Messages: Gov. Edmund J. Davis, Address to the Thirteenth Legislature, Jan. 14, 1873, p. 5.

in the public school was given as 127,672 for the year.[45]

The legislative appropriation was $504,000 of which $450,000 was for the support of teachers and school employees.[46] There was lay opposition to the new "army of professionals" on the school payroll:[47] 35 supervisors had been contracted for until Jan. 1, 1872 and 12 for the balance of the school year, paid--in total--$23,585, in addition to examiners that cost the taxpayers $8,418.62.[48]

By December 1871, there were 1,324 schools in operation in Texas and 63,504 pupils (both Negro and white) attending them. During the following year enrollment increased to 129,542, which amounted to 56% of the scholastic population.[49]

The assessment and collection of taxes had been conducted very irregularly and inefficiently since the war[50]

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[45]Ibid., p. 5.

[46]Eby, Sources, pp. 544, 545.

[47]Eby, Development, p. 164.

[48]Davis, Address, 1873, p. 5.

[49]W. C. Nunn, Texas Under the Carpetbaggers (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962), p. 242.

[50]Texas, Governors' Messages: Gov. Edmund J. Davis, Jan. 10, 1871, Austin: J. G. Tracy, State Printer, 1871, p. 4.

$2,225,040 had been anticipated from the disputed levy of the ad valorem tax on real and personal property for school building and maintenance. By 1872 only $1,077,838.60 had been collected and a debt of approximately $1,000,000 had accumulated.[51] The opposition to the tax was especially marked in the cities of Austin, Houston, Waco, Jefferson and Brownsville, but in many counties, schools had been forced to close or were languishing because of failure to pay the tax.[52] The tax law itself had been mandated to the courts, where several years later it was declared illegal.

Undermined at its most vulnerable point, the Radical School Law of 1871 would soon be written off as another unsuccessful effort to establish a public school system in Texas, where the policy of using force to compel one man to educate the children of another still violated every sense of right and justice.[53]

In November of 1872, the Presidential elections--Grant vs. Greeley--all but brought to an end the rule of the radicals in Texas. Both Republicans and Democrats

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[51]Eby, Development, p. 166.

[52]Davis, Address, 1873, p. 5.

[53]Eby, Development, p. 163.

supported free public schools but the Democrats carried the state for Greeley, and named a majority of the members to the 13th legislature of Texas, which met Jan. 14, 1873. The Democrats repealed the State Police Act, amended the Militia Act so as to limit the governor's control, and called a special election to select a new governor, December 1873.[54] For the restoring of a more popular government, the 13th legislature was to earn the title of "The Liberators of Texas."[55]

However, in their hands, an "education backlash" gained momentum and purpose: The management and organization of the schools were taken out of the hands of the state superintendent and board and lodged, once more, with the people.[56] Late in the Spring of 1873 a joint committee declared DeGress was "vested with almost despotic power" requiring submission with the "disposition of an inquisition"[57] and he was ousted from office before his term expired.

A new school law was enacted in May 1873 which

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[54]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, pp. 312, 313.

[55]Henry, Reconstruction, p. 497.

[56]Eby, Development, p. 168.

[57]Nunn, Carpetbaggers, p. 241.

began the destruction of the radical system. It designated separate requirements for primary, elementary and advanced grades, allowed for the teaching in Spanish, French or German and required that all girls take needlework.[58] Texans chose to ignore this law: Only 30 counties made complete scholastic reports (10 were partially complete); the following year there were scarcely any reports. School attendance fell to 38 per cent in 1873-1874 and the following year no reports were made of attendance.[59]

Texans had reverted, once again to a reliance on private schooling as they had before the Civil War.

Radicals did not allow themselves to be divested of power without a battle, or the Democrats achieve power again, without corruption, and at that pivot-point in the swing of change, the special election for governor, in December 1873, a Mexican American, Joseph Rodriquez, was involved in a test case of fraud at the polls.[60] His case was fought and won by the Radicals on a writ that the election was unconstitutional (because of a close reading

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[58] Ibid., p. 242.

[59] Eby, Development, p. 168.

[60] Ramsdell, Reconstruction, p. 315.

of the constitution on elections)[61] his imprisonment illegal, and by extension, Davis, still governor.[62]

The newly elected Governor Richard Coke, with Democratic entourage, arrived in an armed and excited Austin on January 12, 1874 to find Davis, protected by a Negro militia, still ensconced. For a tense week, violence seemed unavoidable, but President Grant refused assistance to Davis, who finally withdrew on January 17, 1874, and radical power was over.[63]

Although the pattern on the surface of life in Texas was a return to prewar mores in government and education, at a deeper level, social change had been accomplished. The resultant series of adjustments and compromises, taking place over a twenty year period made for a complex social, educational and economic scene. White dominance now included social responsibility for people of color, but only if social and spatial distance could be maintained.

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[61]This was known as the "semicolon" decision because the case rested on the meaning of a semicolon used to separate two clauses in the Texas Constitution.

[62]Dudley G. Wooten, ed., A Comprehensive History of Texas, 1685 to 1897, Vols. I-II (Dallas, Texas: William G. Scarff, 1898) II, p. 206.

[63]Ramsdell, Reconstruction, p. 317.

It is within this new reality, of occupying separate spaces--but being subject to the acculturating pressures of the Anglo society--that the Mexican American can be viewed, in post-Reconstruction Texas.

But, in evidence, in Texas, in 1875 was only the determination to dismantle the Radical education system:

"That the treasury is empty, we know to be a fact,"[64] Gov. Richard Coke declared, within a month of taking office, starting an economy drive aimed both at reducing the free schooling age and the public debt which was, he declared, a result of attempting too much in education.[65]

> . . . Texas cannot afford to have the classics or the languages taught now in the common free schools; nor can she afford to have all her children, from six to eighteen, in school at once; she cannot procure the services of a sufficient number of competent teachers for either as yet . . . the system . . . seeks to occupy the entire education field, to the great injury of individual effort and private enterprise in this line. . . .[66]

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[64]Texas, Governors' Messages: Gov. Richard Coke, "On The Financial Condition of the State with Accompanying Documents From Heads of Department" to the Two Houses of the Fourteenth Legislature, Feb. 10, 1874. Austin: Cardwell & Walker, Printers, 1874, p. 5.

[65]Texas, Governors' Messages: Gov. Richard Coke, Fourteenth Legislature, 2nd session, 1875. Austin: Daily State Gazette Book and Job Office, 1875, p. 58.

[66]Ibid.

The school population between the ages of six to eighteen was 313,000 with 161,670 in the schools.

> . . . The average cost per capita of these, is . . . six dollars and twenty-four cents per term of four months, making an aggregate of one million and eight thousand, eight hundred and twenty dollars and eighty cents, which is about two hundred thousand dollars more than is needed to pay all the ordinary expenses of the State government.[67]

Admitting to the partial failure of the effort to organize a system of free public schools due to the "unwillingness, if not the inability" of the people to bear the burden of the extra taxation. Citing statistics that indicated the income from the permanent school fund, one-fourth of the ad valorem State tax and the poll tax was $546,985, Gov. Coke insisted that this amount fell so far short, "even with the present limited attendance" as to leave a heavy deficiency to be raised by county taxation.[68]

Addressing an audience that would not accept that alternative, he outlined his plan to reduce the numbers of pupils, reduce the salaries of teachers and reduce the course of study.[69]

Acting on political as well as economic grounds,

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[67] Ibid., p. 56. [68] Ibid., p. 57.

[69] Ibid., pp. 58, 59.

his constituency voted to erase every trace of the Radical presence. The Texas Constitutional Convention, that year, in intense hatred, "blindly wrecked" the entire Radical school system. Free schooling was limited to the population between the ages of 8 and 14; the office of State Superintendent and other supervisory bodies were abolished, and compulsory attendance was eliminated. Local taxation for building and school maintenance was rendered impossible.[70]

As late as October 7, 1875, Dr. Barnas Sears, who was to move Texans to a "modern" and professional position on public education, had to take cognizance of this intense hatred of taxation for public schooling.

> . . . The protracted consideration of the Bill contemplating "mixed schools" by both houses of Congress, gave occasion to the opponents of popular education to rally their forces and make an assault upon the whole system . . . the main object of the opposition is clearly to avoid the payment of the school tax.
>
> The most general objection is, that the government has no right to tax the people for the education of their children . . . it is robbery to take the hard earnings of one man to educate the children of another.[71]

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[70]Eby, Development, p. 170.

[71]Barnes Sears, "Objections to Public Schools Considered" remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, New York, October 7, 1875. (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1875), p. 4.

But he maintained his vision that the state, teachers and parents had interlocking responsibilities for public education although he had already acceded to separate schooling:

> . . . the fixed purpose of the Peabody Education Fund was to administer the Trust as to make it a helpful and instructive agency in securing systems of free schools in all the Southern States, adapted to their peculiar conditions of inhabitancy by two races . . . distinct in origin, color, history, separated by an impassable chasm and yet predestined to continuous joint occupancy of the same territory.[72]

Nevertheless, Dr. Barnas' coherent, schematized thinking on universal education and education for the South, particularly, focused on the need for a permanent, free public school backed by a sustaining public sentiment, anchored to a trained professional staff, organized, controlled and supervised by the state.[73]

He felt that upon no part of the community would a return to private schooling "fall so heavily as upon the colored people," and because the fear of "mixed" schools was intense enough to destroy his entire plan, he opted for the viable compromise of separation.[74]

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[72]Curry, Peabody Education Fund, op. cit., p. 38.

[73]Ibid., p. 114. [74]Ibid., p. 63.

He worked persistently toward this vision while Texas was committed (still in reaction to the authoritarian Radical regime) to a loose and easy community school system that was parent controlled, and had no local taxation through which the "rich man was forced to pay for the education of the poor man's child."[75]

The Law of 1876 allowed for temporary school districts, embracing such population as might agree to take advantage of the benefits of the available school fund. The schools were formed by the parents submitting a list of selected children at the beginning of the school year.[76] Although these temporary community schools did work for several years as shown by growing enrollments:

Incomplete Scholastic Population[77]

Years	Enrolled	Scholastics	Expenditures
1876-77	133568	154,530	$479.400
1877-78	146946	168,294	$757,323
1878-79	192654	208,324	$869,474

The school term averaged out to less than four months, there was poor teacher preparation, no school

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[75]Eby, Development, p. 172.

[76]Ibid., p. 172. [77]Ibid., p. 174.

houses were built, and the annual reorganization produced continual controversy and resulted in the gradual dissipation of school resources. (A number of small and inefficient schools were usually conducted in communities which were scarcely large enough for a good single school.)[78]

In this climate, Dr. Barnas' message and offers of help began to garner support for a more structured system: In the winter and spring of 1877, a canvas of Texas, with Dr. Burleson, produced enthusiastic support for an unconventional and advanced position on public education: "Instead of aiding a large number of inferior schools, it seemed advisable to concentrate effort on a few good ones, centrally located."[79]

> . . . Expedient to stress cities--for models--
> . . . of perfect organization and management of public schools. . . . Except . . . a few teachers educated in Normal Schools in the Northwestern States, and emigrants from Germany, there is a prevailing ignorance of the progress made in recent times in the processes of education. Now . . . the best forms of organization and the best methods of instruction can be introduced, the whole state will look to them as models.[80]

Assistance from the Peabody Fund was promised on

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[78]Eby, Development, p. 173.

[79]Curry, The Peabody Education Fund, p. 37.

[80]Eby, Sources, p. 710.

the condition that the schools of each city were put in charge of a superintendent with professional training and experience, who was able to train an existing corps of teachers as well as direct their daily work.[81]

A new era in public education, in Texas, began to shape up: Judge O. M. Roberts, the new governor of Texas and Burleson, of Baylor College, procured a committee of prominent teachers to meet at Austin to recommend measures for the improvement of the schools. This committee met on January 28, 1879 and accepted Dr. Sears' offer of a matched grant for two years, to organize a normal school in Texas.[82] Texas thus became the first state to respond to this Peabody proffer of assistance.[83]

The citizens of Huntsville donated the grounds and building for the proposed Sam Houston normal school to be organized for white pupils and as a free training school for teachers. By an act of the legislature a normal school for training colored teachers was established at the same time at Prairie View College near Hempstead.[84]

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[81] Ibid. [82] Wooten, History, p. 236.

[83] Curry, Peabody, p. 88.

[84] Wooten, History, p. 236.

Popular opinion in Texas was turning toward free public education and this change in attitude was to be permanent, but this development was to be slowed by financial and legislative difficulties. These were pinpointed in April of 1879 when Governor Roberts vetoed the school appropriation bill.

Henceforth, he declared in a message designed to explain his position to an excited public, it had to be "Pay as you go!"[85] The financial realities of administration necessitated a cutback: The entire annual revenue was one million six hundred thousand dollars if one fourth of that amount was for the support of the public free schools, and the appropriation for the payment of the interest and sinking fund of the bonded debt amounted to five hundred thousand dollars, only seven hundred dollars would be left to pay the ordinary expenses of government.[86]

A special session of the 16th legislature reduced the school share of revenues to 1/6 and provided for the sale of lands belonging to the public free school.[87] Teachers were classified into grades, with a fixed maximum pay scale. Although there were more scholastics taught

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[85] Ibid. [86] Ibid.

[87] Ibid., p. 237.

the following year, at less expense,[88] there continued to be a "degeneration of schooling."[89]

The Mexican American has to be viewed within this generalized image of the school in post-Reconstruction Texas, moving, as can be seen, inexorably, though slowly and with regression, toward public education.

This focus on the Mexican American is possible, through the mechanisms of separation. The Mexican American communities, are and have been historically, spatially separated from the Anglo communities.

Mexican American demographic patterns, in Texas, can be seen from the following compendium of the ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth census, showing those counties that have the largest Mexican American population in the thirty year span, 1870-1900.[90]

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[88] Ibid., p. 238. [89] Eby, Development, p. 176.

[90] The statistics compiled on the following page were extracted from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Ninth Census of the United States (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872) Table III, pp. 270-275; Table IV, p. 372.
Tenth Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883) Table VIII, pp. 443, 444; Table XIV, p. 528, 529.
Eleventh Census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890) Census Bulletin, pp. 1, 2, 3; Table 13, p. 507.
Twelfth Census (Washington: citation missing) Table 18, pp. 521, 522; Table 34, pp. 787, 788.
The statistics were checked and corrected from totals given in the twelfth census.

TABLE 1

HISTORIC MEXICAN POPULATIONS

TEXAS COUNTIES	9th Census 1870			10th Census 1880			11th Census 1890			12th Census 1900		
	Total Population	Forgn.	Mex. Born	Total Population	Forgn.	Mex. Born	Total Population	Forgn.	Mex. Born	Total Population	Forgn.	Mex. Born
Bexar	1 6043	5,277	2,309	30,470	7,912	3,498	49,266	11,139	3,561	69,422	12,327	4,752
Caldwell										21,765	2,293	1,643
Cameron	10,999	6,972	6,266	14,959	7,727	7,096	14,424	5,724	5,403	16,095	5,059	4,906
Duval	1,083	690	638	5,732	3,389	3,253	7,598	3,333	3,239	3,483	2,688	2,628
Encinal				1,902	1,260	1,250	2,744	1,377	1,361			
El Paso	3,671	1,070	1,029	3,845	1,152	1,082	15,678	5,399	4,294	24,886	9,797	8,368
Gonzales										28,882	2,500	1,055
Guadalupe										21,385	3,630	1,430
Hidalgo	2,387	1,619	1,602	4,347	2,401	2,388	6,534	2,793	2,782	6,837	2,380	2,366

TABLE 1--Continued

Kinney				4,487	1,884	1,403	3,781	1,263	896	2,447	566	484
Maverick	1,543	1,185	1,126	2,967	1,748	1,613	3,698	1,650	1,451	4,066	1,642	1,544
Nueces	3,975	1,662	1,266	7,673	3,265	2,774	8,093	2,255	1,759	10,439	2,339	1,986
Pecos				1,807	1,268	1,234	1,326	649	591	2,360	737	678
Presido	1,636	839	772	2,873	1,657	1,595	1,698	955	912	3,673	1,540	1.463
Starr	4,154	3,064	2,836	8,304	5,001	4,827	10,749	5,234	5,126	11,469	4,300	4,262
Travis										47,386	4,861	936
Valverde										5,263	1,770	1,576
Webb	2,615	1,077	954	5,273	2,767	2,608	14,842	7,929	7,348	21,851	11,042	10,755
Zapata	1,488	1,167	1,162	3,636	2,304	2,295	3,562	1,997	1,986	4,760	2,173	2,165
Total Counties		11			14			14			18	
Texas Counties		125			210			241			243	

This clustering and consistent demographic patterning of the Mexican American, populating 11 of 125 Texas counties in the census of 1870, and the same 11, plus 3 (Pecos, Kinney, Encinal) in the 1880 Census, can be utilized to throw some light on the educational situation of the group within those census years.

In 1877, O. N. Hollingsworth, the Secretary of the Board of Education, issued the First Biennial Report of the Scholastic Years ending August 31, 1877 and 1878 for Texas, as a whole.

Summary of Statistics[91]	1877	1878
Number of counties reported	135	137
Scholastic population	----	164,294
Scholastic population enrolled	133,568	146,946
Scholastic population not attending school	20,962	23,963
Number of schools organized	3,901	4,633
Months schools maintained	3	4
Teachers employed	3,580	4,330
School houses built	159	243

Abstracting from this report only those counties with substantial Mexican American population, a series of scholastic profiles can be drawn:

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[91] O. N. Hollingsworth, First Biennial Report, Board of Education (Galveston, Texas: Galveston News, 1878), p. 5.

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TABLE 2--Scholastic Profile of Counties with Mexican American School Populations

Counties	Scholastic Populations						Cannot Read		Schools				Teachers					Schools		
	Number 5-14			Not Attending					Number			Days	W	W	C	C				
	w	c	total	w	c	t	White 5--14	b. Foreign Country	w	c	t		M	F	M	F	T	F.	S.	T.
Bexar 1877	750	66	816	. .	.	.			19	2	21	70	14	3	1		20	4		4
1878	963	116	1,079	. .	.	.			26	3	29	70	18	6	1		25	3		3
1879	958	75	1,033	. .	.	.	77		11		11	130	9	2			11	2		2
Cameron 1877	401	1	401	. .	.	.														
1878																				
1879	1643	17	1660	. .	.	.	1103	1055												
Duval 1877																				
1878	221		221	. .	.	.			4		4							1		1
1879	629		629																	
Hidalgo 1877	221		221	106		106			5		5	77	5				5			
1878	402		402	260	9	269			8		8	83	7	1			8			
1879	390	9	399				281	24												
Kinney 1877	182	26	208						4		4	60	2	1			3			
1878	141	26	167						5	1	6	80	4	2			6			
1879	251	29	280			—	122													
Maverick 1877	235		235	131		131			3		3	90	3	1			4			
1878	226		226	105		105			4		4	110	3	2			5			
1879	286	9	295				145													

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TABLE 2--Continued

Counties		Scholastic Populations Number 8-14 w	c	total	Not Attend. w	c	t	Cannot Read White 8-14	b. Foreign Country	Schools Number w	c	t	Teachers D	W M	W F	C M	C F	T	Schools F	S	T.
Nueces	1877	89	20	109	320	40	360			4	1	5	60	2	2	1		5	1		1
	1878	149	22	171	420	20	440			5	1	6	100	4	1		1	6	1		1
	1879	853	73	926				401	226												
Pecos	1877																				
	1878																				
	1879	122		122				95	144												
Presidio	1877	65		65	135		135			1		1	80	1				1			
	1878	161		151	107		107			3		3	40	1				1			
	1879	246	2	243				198	160												
Starr	1877	547		547	350		350			11		11	90	7	4			11			
	1878	508		508	387		387			9		9	148	5	4			9			
	1879	1065	2	1067				779													
Webb	1877	260		260	320		320			4		4	120	3	1			4			
	1878	310		310	136		136			4		4	140	3	2			5			
	1879	451		451				297	248												
Zapata	1877	88		88						2	1	3									
	1878	201		201						6		6	123	5	1			6			

Source: O. N. Hollingsworth, First Biennial Report, Board of Education (Galveston, Texas; Galveston News, 1878), pp. 28-55.

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TABLE 3
Selected Counties with Mexican American School Populations and the Public School Appropriations for the Years Ending August 31, 1877, 1878, 1879

Counties	Approp. 1877	Pop. 1878	Approp. 1878	Pop. 1879	Approp. 1879
Bexar	2,894 93	537	2,641 50	1,033	1,491
Caldwell	2,737 33	885	3,982 50	1,457	9,103
Cameron	4,929 05	1,708	7,636 00	1,660	2,397
Duval		50	225 00	629	908
El Paso	1,361 97	523	2,326 00	628**	905
Hidalgo	703 09	414	1,863 00	399	576
Kinney	577 80	208	936 00	280	404
Maverick	694 25	136	837 00	295	425
Nueces	1,174 77	665	2,992 50	926	1,337
Pecos	430 40	146*	657 00	122	176
Presidio	383 24	161	724 50	248	358
Starr	2,169 72	397	4,036 50	1,067	1,540

Source: O. N. Hollingsworth. First Biennial Report, Board of Education (Galveston, Texas: Galveston News, 1878), pp. 65-67.

*Census of 1876 **Census of 1877

A glimpse of just what statistics like these might mean can be glimpsed from the following fragments:

In Bexar County, the atypical "cosmopolitan" city of San Antonio, had, in 1878, a total population estimated at 20,000 calculated ethnically[92] and divided within its church affiliations.[93] Germans, 6,000; Americans, English and Irish 5,500; Mexicans 4,000;[94] Africans 2,5000; French 128; Polish 58; Swiss 48; Italians 15; Spanish 12; Dutch 6; Hungarians 5; Chinese 4.

In 1878 the cost of maintaining these public schools, $1,150 per month, was budgeted from the city's pro-rata share of the State School Fund, interest from the City Fund of $109,000[95] and $2,000 from the Peabody Fund.[96]

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[92]James L. Rock and W. I. Smith, Texas Guide for 1878, Southern and Western (St. Louis, Mo.: A. H. Granger, Publisher, 1878), p. 167.

[93]Four Catholic Churches: Church of San Fernando had a congregation numbering 4,000 Mexicans; Church of St. Mary's a congregation numbering 1,500 English; St. Joseph had a German congregation and St. Michaels a Polish congregation. Ibid., p. 170.

[94]" . . . its market men and women are Mexican in habit, custom, character and the itinerant trader and huckster is thriftless and shabby." Ibid., p. 164.

[95]Rock and Smith, Texas Guide for 1878, p. 169.

[96]Hollingsworth, First Biennial Report, p. 21.

TABLE 4

San Antonio Public School Profile

	Children 8-14			Schools Organized	Term Days	Teachers White		Teachers Colored		Schools Built In Year
	W	C	Total			M	F	M	F	
1878	756	178	934	9	180	1	15	1	17	2
1879	1271	240	1511							

Source: O. N. Hollingsworth, First Biennial Report, Board of Education (Galveston, Texas: Galveston News, 1878), pp. 28-55.

The gradual increase of interest in and support for public schooling had not yet affected private schools in San Antonio: There were eight private schools, one Catholic College, St. Louis (supra, Chapter IV, footnote 100) which built additional dormitory and classroom facilities in 1876, 1877, and a convent, The Ursuline Academy which had been opened in 1851. These offering board, were more affected by the new access to railroad transportation which made home visitation possible during the school term, than by the public schools.

In Cameron County, Brownsville's public schools were established in 1875, under the law permitting cities and towns of the state to be constituted independent districts; the public schools receiving their state apportionment directly from the State Treasurer.

Intimate, and homely details, recalled and recorded by Lt. W. H. Chatfield, in 1893, give some realities: For fifteen years after the establishment of the public schools, there were no regular schoolhouses, schools sessions were held in various parts of the city. These temporary schoolhouses, of Spanish design, frequently opened directly onto the street with shutters.[97]

> The rooms were poorly lighted, ill-ventilated, and not too well furnished. These conditions resulted in a constant change of teachers, and, as each new teacher brought his or her new ideas of teaching, it frequently happened that scholars were reverted to grades through which they had passed several years before.[98]

Lt. Chatfield, voicing perhaps, the concern of the Anglos, discerned, what he intimated was a "social problem."

> Nearly two-thirds of the population of Brownsville are Mexicans, and the same proportion applies to the scholars attending public schools. The majority

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[97]Lieut. W. H. Chatfield, The Twin Cities (New Orleans: E. P. Brandao, 1893. Reprinted by the Harbert Davenport Memorial Fund, 1959), p. 16.

[98]Chatfield, Twin Cities, p. 16.

> of them could neither speak nor understand the English language when admitted to the schools, and from the fact that they seldom hear anything but Spanish spoken at home, it will be readily seen that infinite patience, and versatile talents were called for in the teachers who undertook the task of Americanizing these young sprigs and buds of our sister Republic.[99]

Although Brownsville parochial schools had been established earlier, there was the necessity to reestablish and reorganize institutions after the Civil War and Reconstruction.

In 1872 a corps of six teachers--three Americans from New Orleans, and three Mexicans from Monterey sought to reestablish St. Joseph's College, a Catholic college within the diocese of Father Parisot (supra, Chapter IV). Within the year registration included forty-eight boarders and one hundred day scholars. However, this attempted re-opening foundered on "fraud and scholarly deceit." The St. Joseph school boys laid a trap in which they caught a guilty mathematics professor.[100]

> The boys strung a lot of letters, indices and signs together on a piece of paper, so arranged as to appear like the ordinary work on a problem, and delegated one of their number to take it to the teacher's desk, and ask him if the work was right. The bait was swallowed by the pretended professor of mathematics, who glanced through

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[99] Ibid. [100] Ibid., p. 17.

> the great mass of meaningless characters and solemnly pronounced them a correct solution.[101]

Mathematics classes were covered--in that crisis--by Father Parisot, but the Brother's School fared poorly: Forty-five teachers came through, and left and finally the school stood vacant at the corner of Elizabeth and Seventh Streets.[102]

The Presbyterian Mission School, for Mexican girls, fared better. First established in Brownsville in 1878--"It was conducted entirely in the interest of the native Mexican population" and was a "very popular school among the Mexican residents."[103] The directors, "native" teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Carrero, opened the school under the auspices of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church, South. The school, which boarded students, thrived, despite competition from the public schools. It was bilingual: the text books were in Spanish. English was taught as a separate language and "all of the pupils learn to speak it with correctness and fluency."[104]

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[101] Ibid.

[102] An opening was attempted again in 1892. Ibid.

[103] Ibid. [104] Ibid.

Instrumental and vocal music classes were part of the school's regular curriculum.

Lest the image that emerges from Lt. Chatfield's telling of the "Brownsville story" obscures the realities of this border town--it must be noted that there was "multi-historic" development in Brownsville. In 1876, revolution as well as education and religion found adherents. Mexican General Porfirio Diaz shaped his campaign for the dictatorship of Mexico from a private house in Brownsville. And on April 2, 1876 Diaz captured Matamoros. Shortly after, Mexicans began crossing into Texas to keep from being forced into the army.[105]

They moved into the isolated area surrounding Brownsville:

> Cheap labor was needed to develop this new country and it was there in abundance. The supply was composed of swarthy poverty stricken and half-starved Mexican peons not one of whom could read, write or speak a single word of English . . . they were plentiful and willing to work at sixty-two and 1/2 cents Mex, per day, while the frowsy female hands or Senoras were paid the small pittance of thirty-seven cents.[106]

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[105]J. Lee Stambaugh and Lillian J. Stambaugh, The Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1954), p. 155.

[106]J. L. Allhands, Gringo Builders (Joplin, Missouri and Dallas, Texas, privately printed, 1931), pp. 165, 166.

This influx increased the near total Mexican ambiance of the area:

> You might say the entire population spoke Spanish, and there was no United States money in circulation until the coming of the Brownsville Railroad. Prior to that time all trading was done exclusively in Mexican money, and for the payment of taxes, exchange to United States currency was made with Francisco Yturria, of Brownsville, who was in reality the community leader.[107]

This use of the Mexican peso as legal tender was the practice in Zapata County, an area at the extreme south west, on the Rio Grande inhabited mostly by Mexicans.[108]

> In 1870, and for a time thereafter, all the trade in Zapata County was transacted with Mexican pesos, at that time equal to the United States dollar, but occasionally a dollar was accepted at par value. Gradually the dollar increased in value over the peso and the county commissioners in solemn conclave passed an order to the effect that the peso and the dollar be accepted at par in the regular transaction of business in the country.[109]

The first school teacher in Zapata County was Antonio Barrera. Although the dates of his employment are

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[107] Ibid., p. 160.

[108] The Mexican inhabitants of this county, described by the Southern and Western Texas Guide for 1878 as people with little industry and enterprise . . . using a primitive plow, a crooked stick with an iron point, for breaking up the soil, had a record of loyalty to the Northern cause during the Civil War period. (See Chapter IV).

[109] Virgil N. Lott and Mercurio Martinez, The Kingdom of Zapata (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1953), p. 120.

not clear, there is some evidence of his commitment to poor Mexicans:

> Professor Barrera was appointed justice of the peace in 1880 by the county commissioner, but the office paid so little in fees that he continued to conduct this school which paid him sufficiently to keep himself and his wife from want and left him a trifle at the end of each month with which he purchased marriage licenses for those who were too poor to pay for them, and in addition, when he found a couple living together as man and wife without benefit of clergy (a common practice among the poor in those days), . . . he not only purchased the marriage license for them, but performed the ceremony and thereby no doubt made many poor children legitimate offspring of their poor parents.[110]

In the 14 to 18 counties in southwest Texas that had the heaviest concentration of Mexican Americans from 1880 through 1900 (see Table 1 and map) there is continuing evidence from both educators and local history buffs[111] of the physical limitation of the group to separate spaces and the psychological pressure by the educational establishment to have this minority group assume the language, perceptions, values and stances of the Anglo culture--to become assimilated.

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[110] Ibid., pp. 67, 68.

[111] That some of the local history evidence is geneological, family and vanity press materials does not negate evidence of the attitudes of the writers about the Mexicans who were, for the most part, majority populations in the areas being described. So far, at least, there is little other evidence available about this group.

That this desire on the part of the Anglo educators was doomed to failure because of the realities of continuing cultural reinforcement from Mexico, the very density and concentration of the Mexican group, the short school term with partial attendance (see Tables 2, 8) the maintenance of Spanish as the home language, and the continuing immigration of illiterate workers from Mexico to work in the fields or on railroad construction[112]--seems to have been partially accepted.

That this desire on the part of the Anglo educators doomed the Mexicans to school failure and whatever is the social concomitant of that, seems never to have been considered--during this period.

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[112]When railroad construction on the line between Robstown and Brownsville began--tents were erected on flatcars. "Here the Mexican family groups 'lived' together. One of the decorative features of this 'rolling village' was the long cords radiating from these camp cars to the mesquite trees, from which there were suspended long strips of raw, red beef and goat meat drying in the sun. The surrounding bushes were usually embellished with freshly washed clothes . . . Sanitary conditions were rather wretched, and their standard of living was not very high . . . this unique traveling town of several hundred adults included shawled Mexican women. There were hords of little ragamuffin children of all sizes and ages, many of them stark naked . . . some made mud pies under the drip of the water car, while other little warm bundles of life, swathed tight in a black rebosa looked down from the eminence of their mother's backs."

This section was almost outside the pale of law, except for the occasional visit of a Texas Ranger. Allhands, Gringo Builders, pp. 257, 258.

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Map 2

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Efforts, ranging from the militant to the judicial, by the Hispanic group, since 1960, have made educators more aware of the connections between assimilative pressures and school failure.[113]

This demographic pattern of spatial separation in southwest Texas and the use of the schools as an acculturating agency was the social design that was to prevail in the state.

However, in a northwest reach of Texas, in an area known as the Panhandle, with a low population density--the total population was 1607 in 1880, and a later land development--the county lines had been drawn in 1876 and

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[113]About 5 per cent of the nation's total student population is Hispanic and they are, after blacks the country's second largest minority. Results of a study released by the Education Commission of the States, a federally financed organization revealed that the education performance of American students with a Spanish heritage is substantially below that of whites.

"The data strongly suggests that Hispanic students do not receive equal benefits from the education system of the country; the mere availability of public education is simply not enough.

"Nationally, the study showed, that, at 17, more than one-third of the Hispanic students were still in the 10th grade or below, as against about 10 percent of white students."

The recent emergence of English-Spanish bilingual education should improve the situation.

Robert Lindsey, "Tests Show Hispanics Lag in School" New York Times, May 22, 1977.

only a few inhabitants could boast a longer tenure; there was a more open living arrangement among the Anglos, the Hispanic group and the Blacks.

The population distribution can be seen in The Panhandle County Map and Table 5. Twenty-two per cent of the total population was Spanish speaking. This Hispanic group accounted for 70% of the population in Hartley, Oldham and Deaf Smith counties, the three counties bordering New Mexico.[114] This group emigrated from New Mexico and Colorado seeking free grass for their sheep, when the "cow men" fenced the land, many returned to New Mexico.

There were no public schools in the Panhandle in 1880 but the Census returns indicated that a number of children had been in school during the twelve month period. (See Table 7) In Oldham County where the census listed 218 Spanish and 61 Anglos, 12 children were attending school--9 Spanish surnamed and 3 Anglos. There were no other Spanish surnamed children on the school attendance lists from any other county in the Panhandle, although there were at least 61 school age Spanish children in the

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[114]Ernest R. Archambeau, "The First Federal Census in the Panhandle--1880", Panhandle Plains Historical Review, Canyon, Texas, XXIII (1950), pp. 25-28.

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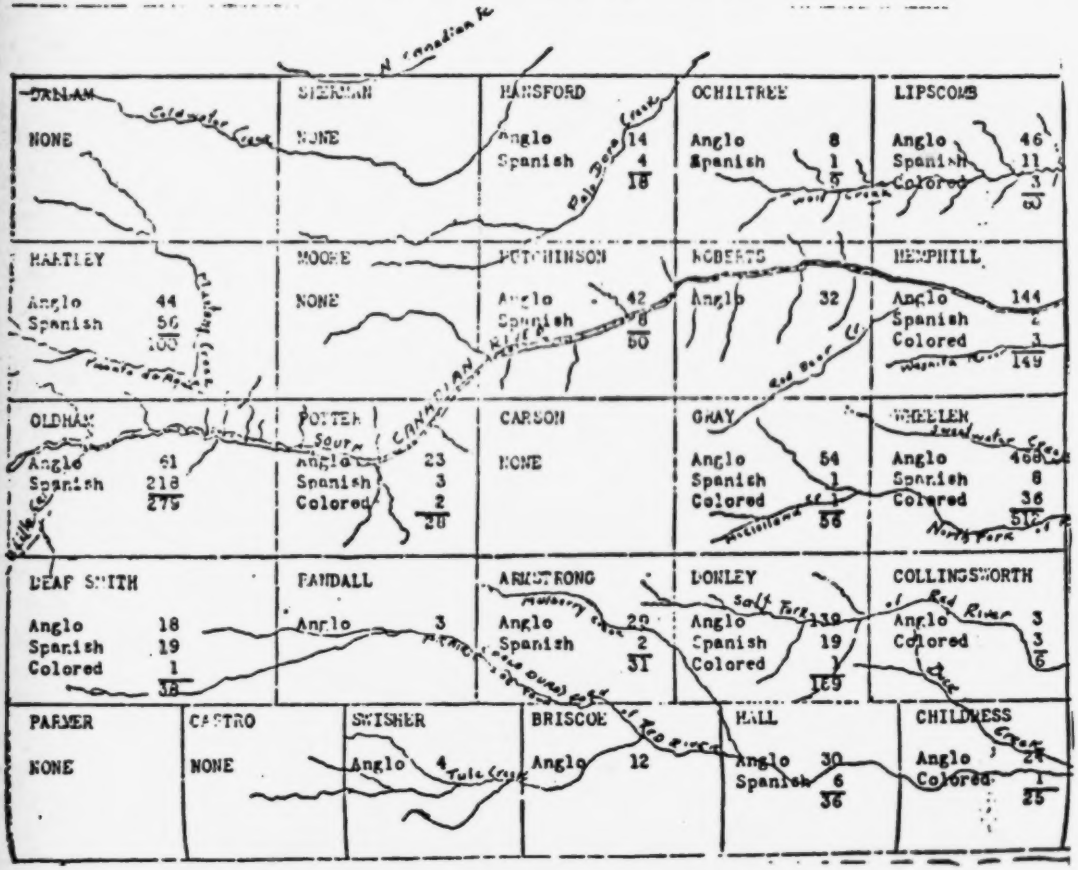
Map 3--Panhandle County Map



Source: Ernest R. Archambeau, "The First Federal Census in the Panhandle--1880", Panhandle Plains Historical Review, Canyon, Texas, XXIII (1950), p. 26.

interior counties, 23 in Hartley, 5 in Deaf Smith (see Table 5).

It is presumed that those who attended school had gone to "subscription schools". A young man named A. F. McKenzie in Hemphill County is listed as a teacher in the census. Although no children from Hemphill County are shown to have been in school, there is some evidence that he and Mamie Leach taught in Mobeetie County in 1880. A son of one Ventura Bonego was also listed as a teacher in a private school.[115] Thus, one out of the three known teachers in the Panhandle was Hispanic.

The Panhandle was still raw land in 1880, no longer typical of the rest of Texas. Just as there were no public schools, there were no public roads and no public law enforcement agencies.[116]

Although further development waited on the railroads, by comparison, southwest Texas was well organized. By 1887 the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oscar H. Cooper, could report that:

> . . . the state has not yet gone far enough in the development of the public school system . . . the school term is too short, . . . much of the work done in the schools is not of the

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[115] Ibid., pp. 39, 40. [116] Ibid., p. 28.

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TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF ANGLO-SPANISH-COLORED

By Counties

	ANGLO			SPANISH			COLORED			Grand
	Adult	Children*	Total	Adult	Children*	Total	Adult	Children*	Total	Total
Hartley	41	3	44	33	23	56				100
Oldham	54	7	61	144	74	218				279
Deaf Smith	16	2	18	14	5	19	1		1	38
Potter	23		23	1	2	3	2		2	28
Randall	3		3							3
Swisher	4		4							4
Hansford	14		14	4		4				18
Hutchinson	35	7	42	2	6	8				50
Armstrong	27	2	29	2		2				31
Briscoe	6	6	12							12
Ochiltree	8		8	1		1				9
Roberts	30	2	32							32
Gray	44	10	54	1		1	1		1	56
Clarendon	47	16	63							63
Donley (Rural)	69	7	76	18	1	19	1		1	96
Hall	23	7	30	6		6				36
Lipscomb	37	9	46	11		11	3		3	60
Hemphill	90	54	144	2		2	1	2	3	149
Fort Elliott	243	39	282	1		1	9	4	13	296
Mobeetie	103	33	136	4	3	7	10	13	23	166
Wheeler (Rural)	29	21	50							50
Collingsworth	3		3				3		3	6
Childress	23	1	24				1		1	25
TOTALS	972	226	1198	244	114	358	32	19	51	1607

*Children age 15 and under

Source: Ernest R. Archambeau, "The First Federal Census in the Panhandle--1880", Panhandle Plains Historical Review, Canyon, Texas, XXIII (1950), p. 27.

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TABLE 6

AGE DISTRIBUTION

	Spanish Population										Colored Population Total			
	Hartley Oldham Deaf Smith				Remaining Counties				Total					
	Male		Fem		Male		Fem		Male		Fem		Male		Fem	
Age Group	Total	Married	Married	Total	Total	Married	Married	Total	Total	Married	Married	Total	Total	Married	Married	Total
75-79	1								1							
70-74	1	1							1	1						
65-69	2	2	1	1					2	2	1	1				
60-64	5	5		2	1	1			6	6		2				
55-59	4	3	1	1					4	3	1	1				
50-54	5	5	3	3					5	5	3	3				
45-49	7	6	3	6	2				9	6	3	6				
40-44	11	9	4	4	3	3			14	12	4	4	2	1		
35-39	11	7	8	9	4	3			15	10	8	9	1		2	2
30-34	11	7	14	14	8	1			19	8	14	14	2			1
25-29	23	8	11	12	13	5	1	1	36	13	12	13	3		1	4
20-24	24	5	7	9	9	3	1	1	33	8	8	12	9			5
15-19	16	1	7	18	11	1	1	1	27	2	8	19	3			2
10-14	13			11	2				15			11	1			1
5-9	15			16	2			2	17			18	7			2
0-4	19			19	2			3	21			22	3			3
Totals	168	56	57	125	57	17	3	8	225	76	62	133	31	1	3	20

Source: Ernest R. Archambeau, "The First Federal Census in the Panhandle--1880", Panhandle Plains Historical Reivew, Canyon, Texas, XXIII (1950).

TABLE 7

LIST OF CHILDREN WHO WERE "IN SCHOOL DURING LAST TWELVE MONTHS"

NAME	AGE	SEX	FATHER	REMARKS
OLDHAM COUNTY:				
Lucretia Martin	11	Female	Leander Martin (Blind)	Mother Illiterate
Parfeta Martin	17	Female	Leander Martin (Blind)	Mother Illiterate
Maria Sandoval	12	Female	Agipito Sandoval	Both parents illiterate
Maria Martin	11	Female	Jose Martin	Both parents illiterate
Felicita Martin	13	Male	Jose Martin	Both parents illiterate
Ilinita Mestes	11	Female	Jose Mestes	Mother Illiterate
Juan Ortega, Jr.	20	Male	Juan Ortega	Mother Illiterate
Jose Ortega	16	Male	Juan Ortega	Mother Illiterate
Manuel Borrego	15	Male	Ventura Borrego	Mother Illiterate
Drew Willingham	7	Male	Cape Willingham	Mail Agent—Tascosa
Thomas Armstrong	5	Male	Marion Armstrong	Mail carrier—Tascosa
Irvin Rinehart	13	Male	I. Rinehart	General Merchant
TOTAL ** 12: Male 7, Female 5				
DONLEY COUNTY:				
Martial L. Wright	6	Male	John S. Wright	Farmer-stockman
Mary L. Wright	10	Female	John S. Wright	Farmer-stockman
Julius B. Rising	13	Male	Edward J. Rising	Merchant in Clarendon
Franklin Rising	9	Male	Edward J. Rising	Merchant in Clarendon
Otho C. Cartlich	12	Male	Rev. Isaac B. Cartlich	Methodist Minister
Wallace A. Hull	11	Male	J. H. Parks (Step-son)	Surveyor at Clarendon
Wm. L. Widney, Jr.	11	Male	William L. Widney	Farmer
George B. Widney	10	Male	William L. Widney	Farmer
Isabella C. Widney	9	Female	William L. Widney	Farmer
Anna L. Widney	7	Female	William L. Widney	Farmer
TOTAL ** 10: Male 7, Female 3				
GRAY COUNTY:				
George Hevron	17	Male		Herding cows in Gray Co.
ARMSTRONG COUNTY:				
Sarah Morse	10	Female	Elijah R. Morse	Dairyman on Goodnight ranch
WHEELER COUNTY:				
John Campbell	6	Male	J. S. Campbell	Soldier at Fort Elliott
Anna Campbell	9	Female	J. S. Campbell	Soldier at Fort Elliott
May E. Murray	5	Female	D. Murray	Officer at Fort Elliott
Ella Johnson	14	Female	May Smith (Mother)	Mobeetie.
TOTAL ** 4: Male 1, Female 3				
BRISCOE COUNTY:				
George Babcock, Jr.	13	Male	George Babcock	This family is listed both
Ida Babcock	8	Female	George Babcock	in Oldham County and
Frank Babcock	11	Male	George Babcock	Briscoe. This information is from the Oldham rolls and conflicts slightly with that of Briscoe.
TOTAL ** 3: Male 2, Female 1				

Source: Ernest R. Archambeau, "The First Federal Census in the Panhandle--1880", Panhandle Plains Historical Review, Canyon, Texas, XXIII (1950), p. 41.

> right quality, . . . the disbursement of the school fund is not guarded with sufficient care.[117]

Superintendent Cooper criticized the permissive (rather than mandatory) local taxation system which enabled only 300 out of 3000 school districts to carry school taxes. He suggested mandatory school elections in each school district--the entire state to be districted[118]--might correct the tax inequities which resulted in an average school term of five months in the county and 8 months in town.[119]

The official assimilative rationale of the school system was also spelled out clearly in his report:

> . . . our school law is silent concerning the language which should be used as the medium of instruction. We have a large foreign element among our population. In some localities it is so strong an influence that it is able to enforce the use of a foreign language in the public schools. While we welcome thrifty and law-abiding citizens from every quarter of the globe, we should require that the children of our foreign born citizens be taught in the public schools in the language of our laws and of our people. When natives of Germany, Sweden, Bohemia, or Mexico become citizens of Texas, they cease to be foreigners and become Texans; and their children should be trained to be in

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[117]Oscar H. Cooper, Sixth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction (Austin: State Printing Office, 1888), p. 15.

[118]Ibid., p. 17. [119]Ibid.

> sympathy with our institutions. This will never be fully done so long as they retain as their vernacular the language of foreign and alien peoples.[120]

Although the Bexar County Superintendent chose to ignore the large Mexican scholastic population in his county--except by indirection

> . . . I am almost ready to say that I believe it would be advantageous in this county to have compulsory education. Some classes pay so little attention to the education of their children that the law ought to interfere.[121]

Others were more direct:

> The schools here are improving slowly, as it can hardly be otherwise in a Mexican community where so many prejudices have to be overcome.[122]

The Cameron County Superintendent put in a plea for a longer school term: (see Tables 8 and 9)

> . . . Nearly all of the children of the county are of Mexican parentage, and their only knowledge of the English language is obtained in the public schools. An absence of from seven to eight months between terms, hearing no English spoken during that period of time, finds them at the commencement of each school term almost entirely ignorant of what they had previously learned, and requires much labor and time to place them in the line of studies of the former term.[123]

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[120] Ibid., p. 31. [121] Ibid., p. 294.

[122] Ibid., p. 290. (This from the President of the Board of Trustees of Ysleta.)

[123] Ibid., p. 297.

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TABLE 8--Scholastic Profile of Counties with Mexican American School Populations 1886-1887

Counties	Schools Organized W	C	Total	Maintained W	C	Total	Scholastic Population White	Colored	Total	Pupils Enrolled	Term Months
Bexar*	47	4	51	47	4	51	2619	253	2872	1766	5.35
Cameron	41		41	40		40	2590		2590	1926	5.75
Duval	13		13	13		13	925		925	684	6.94
Encinal	3	3	6	3		3	145		145	108	
El Paso	7		7	5		5	677		677	168	7.20
Gonzales	63	28	91	62	28	90	2349	1318	3667	2850	4.52
Guadalupe	52	22	74	49	22	71	2295	1188	3483	3602	
Hidalgo	19	19	19		19		1028		1028	452	6.25
Kinney*	10	2	12	10	2	12		47	666		
	12	2	14				619			560	8.00
Nueces				12	2	14	986	87	1073	850	8.40
Pecos				3		3				87	9.15
Starr	20		20		19	19	777		777	623	6.14
Travis *	71	28	99	70	26	96	2616	1832	4448	5670	5.34
Valverde	4	1	5	4	1	5	366	11	377	232	5.48
Webb	4		4	4		4	124		124	111	
Zapata	5		5	5		5	214		214	6	

Source: Oscar H. Cooper, Sixth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction (Austin: State Printing Office, 1888), pp. 49-52.

*Separate and independent school districts.

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TABLE 9--Scholastic Profile of Counties with Mexican American School Populations 1886-1887

Counties	Scholastic Population		White Non Readers		Teachers' Salary /Monthly			
	Total	Instructed in Reading	School Term start	end	White M	White F	Colored M	Colored F
Bexar	2872	1594	426	129	39.42	34.85	27.00	36.66
Cameron	2590	1280	1070	738	38.81	38.81		
Duval	925	428	85	7	47.48	86.24		
El Paso	677	163	52	5	62.09	30.00		
Encinal	145	78	86		61.66	75.00		
Gonzales	3667	2398	295	80	45.00	36.00	45.50	30.00
Guadalupe	3483	2471	374	86	48.28	40.60	44.80	35.90
Hidalgo	1028	340	209	34	52.69	66.66		
Kinney	666		58	28	57.50	30.00		33.00
Nueces	1073	755	139	68	51.00	51.00	35.00	35.00
Pecos		81	24	3	50.00	55.00		
Starr	777	450	392	138	67.64	58.33		
Travis	4448	3644	309	80	46.20	39.18	43.37	35.62
Valverde	377	210	39	10	62.50	40.00		30.00
Webb	124	65	100	40	60.00	50.00		
Zapata	214	111	110	56	52.00	60.00		

Source: Oscar H. Cooper, Sixth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction (Austin: State Printing Office, 1888), pp. 53-60; 69-73.

The Hidalgo County Judge, Thaddeus M. Rhodes, echoed the Bexar superintendent:

> . . . The scholastic population reported by the communities falls far short of the scholastic census, which was 1484, and . . . the enrollment in schools is much below that of the communities while the average daily attendance is comparatively small . . . it is to be accounted for from the fact that our Mexican population is largely transient, constantly moving from one locality to another. Besides, in many of the communities private Spanish schools are established, which materially interfered with the public schools, but notwithstanding the many obstacles which are presented our teachers are making some progress. The wonder is that we make any progress at all. Our English speaking population does not exceed 200, and to this small ration of our population do we look for support. We can only do our best to overcome the indifference of the majority of the people, and there is but one remedy which I could suggest, but which I do not recommend, and that is compulsory education.[124]

The Kinney County Judge spelled out the inequities involved in the local tax procedure: (see Table 10 for State Appropriations)

> . . . the public free schools in Kinney County are in a prosperous condition and especially so with the school in Brackett, under the management of Professor E. P. Lord. We have enrolled in this school 218 scholastic scholars, and had an average daily attendance of 136, during the term of ten months school. The taxpayers of this district voted a special tax on themselves of 15 cents on the one hundred dollars worth of property, which enables us to maintain our school ten months during the year. None of the other districts have this special tax, and so none of them have school more than six months . . . most of them less. . . .[125]

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[124] Ibid., p. 301. [125] Ibid., pp. 303, 304.

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TABLE 10

State Appropriations to Counties with Mexican American Scholastics

Counties	Scholastics 1886-7	Apportioned 1887
Bexar	2872	13,642.00
Cameron	2620	12,445.00
Duval	1257	5,970.75
El Paso	1029	4,887.75
Encinal	681	3,234.75
Gonzales	3797	18,035.75
Guadalupe	3639	17,285.25
Hidalgo	1576	7,486.00
Kinney	666	3,163.50
Nueces	1073	5,096.75
Pecos	188	893.00
Starr	1685	8,003.75
Travis	5274	25,051.50
Valverde	377	1,790.75
Webb	546	2,593.50
Zapata	721	3,424.75

Source: Oscar H. Cooper, Sixth Biennial Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction (Austin: State Printing Office, 1888), pp. 69-73.

Although the separation of the Mexicans from other students is not clear from the report of County Judge Joseph Fitz Simmons of Nueces County, the use of bilingual teachers is:

> Three-fourths of the scholastic population west of the city of Corpus Christi being of Texas-Mexican origin, and speaking or using the English language in very few localities, necessitates the employment of teachers having a knowledge of both the English and Spanish languages. In the rural district schools large additions are made yearly to the primary classes of children who do not speak or understand the English language.[126]

Mexican students were three-fourths of the scholastic population of a school in Collins--in Nueces County, he added:

> . . . a frame lumber house, 45 feet long by 18 wide and 1 1/2 stories high, well ceiled and painted, with a belfry, and 8000-gallon cistern in covered shed adjoining, and seating capacity, with improved school desks and furniture, for about seventy pupils. The building stands on four town lots donated ten years ago for that purpose, and is now in good condition, . . .[127]

The need to Americanize and "elevate" the Spanish speaking students were Fitz Simmons' aims:

> The fact of three-fourths of the scholastic population using the Spanish language necessitates that the teachers understand the Spanish and English languages, and such we employ as the best means of Americanizing the rising generation.

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[126] Ibid., p. 309. [127] Ibid.

> I can offer no suggestions for change in present school laws, and believe they can be made effectual for all necessary purposes in carrying out the objects of the law--to improve and elevate the moral tendency and tone of the rising generation and impart a knowledge of their duties and rights as citizens and residents of these United States.[128]

This goal could be achieved by "culture contact" the Corpus Christi Caller observed:

> The Mexicans, whether immigrants or natives, maintain the characteristics of the people who dwell beyond the Rio Grande. They have not, save in a few instances, become partakers of American customs or imitators of American manners. Since the Mexican children have been admitted to the city schools, it remains to be seen what effect more direct contact with the children of Americans will have upon the young Mexicans.[129]

But the dynamics of separation precluded this possibility. "Practically coincident with the entry of Mexican children to the city schools, a separate school was provided for them. In 1896 the enrollment of this school was 110 children."[130] There was no separation in the

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[128] Ibid.

[129] Paul Schuster Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 192.

[130] Ibid.

remainder of the county. Segregation in Nueces County[131] depended, in part, on numbers. As the population increased, distance between Mexicans and whites intensified. By 1929 a majority of the districts had separate schools for Mexican children.[132]

Internal details are available on the independent school district in Brownsville (Cameron County) in 1890-1891:

city school tax	$ 582.04	
increased by the state apportionment (received directly by the city)	$10,559.94	
for a total tuition revenue		$11,141.98

This amounted to $7.50 per capita for the scholastic population and over $20 per capita for the average attendance. The School Board was authorized by law to charge tuition fees for children under and over the scholastic age 8 to 16, but no such charge was made.

To teach English, the principle J. F. Cummings organized a bilingual situation. In the first three grades the Mexican pupils were not required to speak English. They

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[131] A history of segregation in Nueces County can be found in Taylor, An American-Mexican Frontier, pp. 191-297.

[132] Ibid., p. 216.

were taught to read the English sentence first, give the meaning and translate the material into Spanish.

> . . . this combination of the two languages is found to work excellently, and there are very few pupils who are not capable of conforming to the rule which requires them to use the English language entirely, as soon as they enter the fourth grade. The rule is imperative. If a scholar cannot express a thought, it must remain unexpressed until enough English is gathered from companions or elsewhere to overcome the difficulty.[133]

This school[134] was organized to run in two semester sessions through nine grades. By the mid-semester of 1893, 491 pupils were enrolled, 319 boys and 172 girls, about three-fifths Mexicans.

The entire student body studied orthography, reading, penmanship, arithmetic, drawing and physical culture. Other available courses included geography, language, grammar, composition, United States history, Texas history, algebra, geometry, physiology.

Order was maintained originally by quasi-military drill, this was allowed to lapse into the selection of room captains and commands to "forward march" and "take seats," etc.

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[133]Chatfield, Twin Cities, p. 17.

[134]All the material on this school is from Chatfield, Twin Cities abstracted from pages 16, 17, 18.

Grading in this Brownsville school included attendance and deportment.

> The attendance is very regular, except in cases of general sickness, which are very rare in this highly favored region; and when seasons of drought require all abled bodied persons to work, and earn a pittance for purchasing high priced necessaries; then the attendance sometimes falls off to 40 per cent of the numbers enrolled.[135]

For excellence, the Principal provided "30 silver medals valued at $40," which were worn by the winners of them for the following half year, and "there is generous rivalry for the privilege."[136]

There was a teaching staff of 13 in 1893. A Spanish surname count elicited one--Miss Clara Fernandez.

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[135] Ibid., p. 17. [136] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

It was the purpose of this study to present an appraisal of the role of the public school as an acculturating agency of Mexican Americans in Texas, 1850-1968.

It was also the purpose of the study to determine whether assimilative methods used historically in the public school system, in Texas and elsewhere, to acculturate the children of immigrants, had a negative influence on this Spanish-speaking group. And finally to use the historical information to ascertain whether the schools should continue to act as an agency of assimilation.

The accumulated evidence of this study indicates that as soon as there was an organized public school system in Texas (which didn't occur until the post-Reconstruction period), the schools functioned as an agency of assimilation: The Anglos, who set the policy, attempted to inculcate their values, ideals, beliefs, language and history upon the Mexican Americans.

The evidence in the study also indicates that the Mexican Americans were separated, spatially, socially and economically from this dominant Anglo group. Thus the pressure to assimilate was conducted at arm's length, through the schools rather than through culture contact.

This acculturative pressure, exerted on the Mexican Americans in Texas, for about one hundred years, was a failure. The Mexican American is one of the least assimilated groups in the country. This failure (Failure itself can only be ascribed, if the goal sought is desirable. In the late 1960's when this study was fashioned, the very goal of assimilation was questioned.) has been ascribed to the Mexicans, to the Anglo educators, to the concept itself.

It was the concept of assimilation that was under scrutiny in this study. To clarify the relationship between the Anglos and the Mexicans, in general, it is necessary to draw a distinction between assimilation and acculturation. Assimilation takes place when the process of acculturation eventuates in the taking over of the greater portion of another culture and the loss of most of the older cultural heritage. For assimilation to take place there would have to be interpenetration and fusion in which the Mexican American group would acquire the memories,

sentiments, attitudes of the Anglos and by sharing their experience and history, become incorporated with them in a common cultural life.

This did not occur in the period under study.

Although the Mexicans in Texas did not assimilate and thus did not lose their cultural heritage, the evidence in this study indicates that they were shorn of their historical heritage.

They lost their past.

The recorded history of Texas is the history of the Anglos. Education functions as a transmitting system for this dominant group. The schools function as the place in which this history is transmitted. The Mexican student suffers this Anglo construction of the past and its implication for his near hopeless future.

People are individually the culture bearers and are the mediators of any cultural processings. The cultural processing did not "take"; the Mexican Americans resisted assimilation and retained their culture. But in our society, historians create, guard and revise written history, the history that is transmitted. Texas historians have created a school history that depicts the Mexicans as weak

and treacherous, savage and degraded, as an indolent, lazy and demoralized group fit to be both defeated and an under-class. The image of the group as inferior has been given continued existence in texts; the Spanish language has been tacitly assumed to be an inferior language.

Awareness of the potential damage of these defeating myths and images is a legacy from the 1960's when minority groups vocalized their distress.

Destructive material, repetitive, learned without question in early school years, forms permanent mind sets for both kinds of children those of the Anglos and those of the Mexicans. This is a significant part of the school's acculturative imprint upon the Mexican American child, shaping that child.

It has been the task of the 1970's to accumulate alternate truths about minority groups. Although not central to the display of the school's acculturative role, this study has presented some alternate historical impressions and picaresque Mexican American culture heroes.

There is a need for further research and documentation in this area. An ethnic history that will reveal the group in all its complexity, has yet to be done.

For Mexican Americans the period[1] to be recovered is brief, oral history might be one method of research, local history another. It is not too late. What has been created, can be revised and altered. Mexican Americans need not be left with a blank or smudged page in Anglo history. It remains the task of the 1980's to codify and rewrite school history, not only for this minority group but for all the minorities, to rectify the damage inflicted in the name of "one nation indivisible" and the "common school."

Although not central to the display of the school's acculturative role, this study has presented some fragments of Civil War history in Texas, in which the Mexican Americans participated. This interweaving of Mexican American history within the time and space of the Civil War is merely a sample of historical revision so that "historical justice" is done.

Actually, even that Spanish Mexican past that is recorded is rich in lore and adventure. The Spanish history of the area is older than that of the Anglos and there are

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[1]In the context of this study, the period between 1827 and the present, has to be recovered. In a larger context, searching for his past will lead the Mexican American to Mayan and Aztec roots. It is the vestiges of this indigenous and primitive past that seems to have been the most disturbing to the "civilizing" instincts of the Texan settlers.

"Spanish" settlers that can point to ancestry that goes back to the Spanish Conquistadors. Texas was still part of Spanish Mexico and almost totally Mexican-Indian-Spanish when Spain confirmed that significant grant of land to Moses Austin, an American, in 1821.

Mexican Americans were in the early colonies and some were owners of grants of land during the fifteen year period it took Texas to change its status from Mexican colony, to Mexican state to independent republic. A counting of Spanish surnamed population from the first census of the Citizens of Texas' lists in 1829 indicates 163 Mexican families, 41 single persons. In 1834 a record of voters in the Municipality of San Augustine gives 18 Mexican voters, and the certificates of sponsored entrance into Texas in 1835 adds another 13 Mexican surnamed persons. This census itself was fragmentary.

These Mexicans had a stake in the beginnings of the state. Although Mexicans were in Texas continuously they were not welcome in the public schools of Texas. There is no evidence that they entered Texas schools in substantial numbers until after Texas' defeat in the Civil War and the shift in responsibilities of the state toward minority scholastics engendered by Reconstruction. In the earlier years formal education was procured through religious

agencies and private schools.

Schooling in Texas was Anglo dominated from 1827 through 1968: An official "cover-up" operation obscured this from the Mexican authorities when Texas was a colony. The authoritative Mexican position was to provide bilingual Catholic education. The early empressario contracts contained a provision requiring the establishment of schools with instruction in Spanish, and in 1827 the Constitution of the State of Coahuila-Texas provided that a state system of education be established with Catholicism as the official religion. Other attempts were made to provide rudimentary and higher education in the colonies. But in 1828 a Mexican Commission reported:

> . . . The naturalized North Americans in the town maintain an English school, and send their children north for further education; the poor Mexicans . . . do not have sufficient means to establish schools, . . .[2]

The colonists schools were Protestant in tone and morality. In 1828 and 1830 there were three public schools in San Felipe de Austin, in 1831 there were 4. These elementary schools were for the children of the colonists, not for the Mexicans.

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[2]Don Manuel Mier y Teran as quoted by Alleine Howren, "Causes and Origin of the Decree of April 6, 1830" Southwestern Historical Review, XVI, No. 1 (1912), p. 394.

In the Texas Declaration of Independence Texas cited a lack of religious freedom and a lack of education as justification for revolt and thereupon engineered a successful revolution, achieving independence. There was further "paper commitment" to public education when Texas became an independent republic: President Mirabeau B. Lamar, the second President of the Republic of Texas, provided a foundation for an education system in 1838. The laws of 1839-1840 recognized that the state could assist all grades of instruction, elementary, secondary and higher. These laws remained paper laws, there is no evidence that any county in Texas used its land for the establishment of schools at this time.

It is also quite clear from the evidence that whatever real interest there was in public education did not include the Mexicans. This lack of special concern with the Mexicans in Texas was not yet the assimilative rationale that was to affect minorities in the 1900's, it was rather a cloak of invisibility.

Thus even before Texas was officially annexed to the United States in 1845, a pattern had been established that was to be reflected in the state henceforth. The Mexican's presence was rendered institutionally

invisible[3] on one hand, and on the other, in all real interpersonal transactions, a dominent-subordinate status was maintained.

As a new state, Texas followed the surge of educational reform in other states by rewriting the Texas Constitution in 1845. The Texas legislature was required to make suitable provisions for the support and maintenance of public schools. Nevertheless, there remained a real lack of involvement in education, reflected in the figures of the 7th Census: Scholastically, Texas ranked 28 in a field of 32 states in 1850. Of the total (40,962) native white scholastics in Texas, aged 5 through 15, 54.82 per cent were in school; of the foreign white students (2,466) 24.37 per cent were in school.

These figures leave out a great deal. They do not show those Texans who employed private tutors or sent their children north or south to schools. They reveal nothing about Mexican American children. Were Mexican children calculated under the statistics for "Whites, Native Born" or "Whites, Foreign Born"? They remain non-visible, lost in the institutional statistics.

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[3]Thus research, through mainstream records, becomes extremely difficult.

Behind the statistical "Brown Out" a fuller picture of schooling, as it was experienced by the two groups, Anglos and Mexicans, is revealed in diaries and reminiscences. The Anglo children, in primitive log school houses were being taught (in what modern educators would call an "unstructured curriculum") aggression, independence and self worth. Those Mexican children who received an education were taught by missionaries or seminarians interested either in maintaining the substantial Catholic minority or in converting these children to Protestantism. Typical was Melinda Rankin's missionary zeal:

> . . . I was encouraged in finding the Mexican children susceptible of moral and mental improvement. Many of them I found addicted to the vices peculiar to their race: but, by proper instruction, I soon observed a very decided change.[4]

This kind of dual approach to education persists in the Southwest:

> . . . There is the continuing assumption that the Mexican American child needs moral "uplift" this takes the form of "extraordinary emphasis on what can best be thought of as 'civil'

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[4]Melinda Rankin, Twenty Years Among the Mexicans (Cincinnati: Chase and Hall, Publishers, 1875), pp. 34-41.

responsibilities; and 'personal hygiene' or 'citizenship.'[5]

This enrollment in private and parochial school was, however, a part of a substantial tradition in Texas.

The U. S. Census of 1850 shows that Bexar, a county in Texas with a substantial Mexican American population, (the county seat is San Antonio) had this educational profile.

	Schools	Teachers	Pupils	Annual Income
Public	1	1	16	$ 180
Private	3	4	98	$2130

The concept of private schooling as the image of the most desirable education allowed some Mexican American children to remain within the scholastic picture. Mexican children received, in some instances, an education that was not to be duplicated in the public school system when that was actually implemented after Reconstruction. The parochial schools were run by highly educated and dedicated nuns and brothers, the curriculum included foreign languages, the

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[5]Arthur J. Rubel, Mexican-Americans in a Texas City (Austin and London: Hogg Foundations for Mental Health, University of Texas Press, 1966), pp. 10-11.

arts and science and the pupils were "integrated" with upper class American and Mexican students.

As for the Anglos, fear (the fear that "hostile" abolitionist sentiment would pervade their schools) became the catalyst that moved other seemingly disparate forces together in a series of acts that were to provide the financial base for the public education system of Texas, and the culminating Common School Law of 1854.

This law provided: That the sum of two million dollars of five percent United States bonds be set apart as a school fund. That the free white scholastic population be listed in each county. That each county be divided into school districts. That a per capita state apportionment be applied to teachers' salaries.[6]

There was immediate enthusiastic support for the new bill and within ten months 89 of the 100 counties had reported their scholastic population. The total scholastic population of the state was estimated at 65,463. The per capita allowance was 62 cents.

But Texans, in general did not understand what was

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[6]Laws of Texas, 1822-1897, compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel (Austin: The Gammel Book Company, 1898), p. 1461.

meant by public education, they still believed it meant public support for private education. Although the law provided public schools, pauper schools and private schools . . . private school interests began to battle those supporting state monies for indigent and orphaned children. By 1856 these private school interests had triumphed. The new school law provided that any group of people anywhere were permitted to set up a school and employ a teacher.[7]

As private school interests gained more control there was diminishing involvement and support by the public. By 1861, the year of secession, only 12 of 124 organized counties for the common school system reported their scholastic population. More seriously, the exigencies of war demanded hard money, some of the common school fund was in U. S. bonds; this money was appropriated and used for the war effort. The state organization of education ceased to function.

The public school system was not, however, seriously missed, for it had never been deeply rooted in the affection

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[7]This was the schooling system that Texas reverted to again, by choice after Reconstruction.

and habits of the Anglos and it had never serviced the Mexican Americans.

The separation of the Mexican American child from the other Texas children in school during the period 1850 through 1870 seems so total as to make the history of the common school in Texas not related at all to these children. In terms of this study it is possible to state that there were no acculturative/assimilative forces functioning for the children of Mexican Americans during the Civil War and Reconstruction years except for those few children who attended parochial schools.

The role of the school, as the purveyor of the dominant ideational and value systems of the society, was not developed during this period and was not to be developed until post-Reconstruction Texas.

Reconstruction in Texas was a chaotic and painful process that ultimately resulted in social change. A series of adjustments and compromises, taking place over a twenty year period made for a complex social, educational and economic scene. White dominance now included social responsibility for people of color, but only if social and spatial distance could be maintained. It is within that reality, of occupying separate spaces, but being subject to

the acculturative pressures of the Anglo society, that the Mexican American can be viewed in post-Reconstruction Texas.

De facto segregation kept the Anglo group from continuous first-hand contact with the Mexican Americans. If there is little or no continuous first-hand contact between two groups having different cultures in what manner can acculturation take place? This study demonstrates that the institutions of the dominant society can function as the acculturating agency, teaching the ways of behavior (including roles, habits, attitudes, values, knowledge) to perform as a participant in the society.

More specifically, the evidence in the study indicates that the public schools took on the acculturating function of Mexican Americans in post-Reconstruction Texas.

Demographic data reveals that there are 11 to 14 permanent Mexican American communities in Texas. The ambiance of some of these counties is almost totally Mexican. Nevertheless, unofficial and official reports from the Board of Education for the thirty year period, 1870-1900, reveal evidence of pressure on this minority to assume the language, perceptions, values and stances of the Anglo culture, to become assimilated.

That this desire on the part of the Anglo educators was doomed to failure because of the realities of continuing cultural reinforcement from Mexico, the very density and concentration of the Mexican group, the short school terms with partial attendance, the maintenance of Spanish as the home language and the continuing immigration of illiterate workers from Mexico to work in the fields or on railroad construction--seems to have been partially accepted.

That this desire on the part of the Anglo educators doomed the Mexicans to school failure and whatever is the social concomitant of that in American society, was not considered in this period. Efforts, ranging from the militant to the judicial, by the Hispanic group, since 1960, have made educators more aware of the connections between these assimilative pressures and school failure. And it is within that framework that this study has been written.

The historical evidence indicates: (1) that the Mexican Americans were left out of the history that they were meant to absorb; (2) that when they were "put in" it was in a derogatory and demeaning manner; (3) that the learning of the roles apportioned to them in the history of Texas meant submission; (4) that this learning was part of the socializing process of the school.

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